STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

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1857—1947

A PICTORIAL RECORD

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the dawn of history, our mountain-guarded and sea-girt sub-continent was a source of constant lure to the foreigners, both in the East and the West. She was regarded as one of the richest lands in the world, and it was her silks and spices, pearls and perfumes and ivories and ebonies which fired their imagination and drew them constantly towards her shores. Thus, during the Middle Ages, the European merchant-adventurers started coming to this land with an eye on her wealth. And it was her wealth which brought ruin to this land.

The Portuguese were the first people from Europe to find a sea-route to this sub-continent. They came here fifteen years before the establishment of the Mughul Empire (1511), and made Goa the capital of their dominions in the East.

They were followed by a more clever group of sailors from England who defeated them in a great naval battle in 1588, and thereafter supplanted themselves on the sub-continent by establishing a permanent factory at Surat in 1613. The next important landmark was the establishment of English settlements at Madras in 1640, Bombay in 1661 and Calcutta in 1690.

Having thus acquired important coastal points on the sub-continent, the British—as East India Company, a business concern of peaceful traders—radically changed their policy and involved themselves in the general complex of intrigue and strife on this land.

The dawn of the eighteenth Century saw the beginning of the end of the Mughul might in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The Great Mughuls symbolised the highest watermark of cultural and political stability of the Muslims in the vast peninsula which is today divided into two separate States of Pakistan and India. The decline and disintegration of political power was rapid, and the political vacuum gave rise to an era of anarchy which gave a chance to the East India Company to build up an Empire, governed from abroad.

The sacking of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, the loss of Afghanistan and the rise of Hindus under the Marathas in the south seriously undermined the Mughul Emperor's position in the country. The vice-regents of the Emperor in different provinces, called the Nawabs, took this opportunity to overthrow the suzerainty of the Central Government at Delhi and thus gave an easy let to European adventurers to mix themselves in their court intrigues.

In the rich and fertile province of Bengal, the British found themselves up against the young Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah who had a clear realisation of the British ambition to take over Bengal in order to monopolise the rich trade there. The East India Company's secret dealings with Siraj-ud-Daulah's aunt and her adviser were discovered, and the Nawab, immediately on his accession in April 1756, felt the necessity of reducing the Company's privileges to those given to other foreign traders. The British, under Robert Clive, however, formed a clique in the court at Murshidabad led by Mir Jafar, Jagat Seth, Ray Durlabh and some others, attacked Siraj-ud-Daulah's forces at Plassey on June 23, 1757, and helped by treachery among the Nawab's ranks, succeeded in routing the ruler of Bengal. In this way, the British got control over the rich province of Bengal.

Immediately after this, the East India Company inflicted a death-blow on their rival European power, the French, on the Coromandal coast and started a campaign of crushing or subjugating the various local rulers all over the sub-continent. The most formidable among these, after the death of Siraj-ud-Daulah, was Haider Ali who by the year 1761 had become practically master of the Mysore State in the south. The British formed a strong coalition with the Nizam and Marathas against Haider and forced him in 1771, to pay the Marathas a large sum of money as well as cede valuable territory to them. This led Haider to wage a bitter war against the British until his death in 1782.

After Haider Ali's death, his son, the indomitable Tipu Sultan, continued the war and carried on a ceaseless campaign against the British for liberation of the country. Fighting single-handed after his father's death, Tipu Sultan captured Bednore and Mangalore, and forced the Madras Government to sign the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784 whereby the British recognised the Sultan's right to certain districts claimed by the Nizam.

The British under Lord Cornwallis, however, formed a triple alliance with the Nizam and Marathas against Tipu. And thus began the great Tipu's life-long crusade against the British and their allies which ended only with his gallant death on the field of battle in 1799. Tipu's death removed the last stronghold of the Muslim might on the sub-continent. Thus by the advent of the 19th Century, the British supremacy on the sub-continent was firmly established.

The general British feeling towards the Muslims was one of misunderstanding and distrust. Since the Muslims had been the virtual rulers of the sub-continent, it was felt by the British that the Muslims and not the Hindus must yield power to them. Every action of the Muslims, therefore, was looked upon with an eye of suspicion; every effort of the Muslims to save themselves from a rapid decline was thus termed by the British as a conspiracy or revolt against them.

Under the circumstances, the fiscal policy of the East India Company, which involved a deliberate extinction of the fine and more skilled arts of the country, particularly affected the Muslims. The only source of income for the better class of Muslims—posts in army, administration and learned professions—were no longer available to them. In view of the circumstances, it was but natural that the Muslim reaction to the British attitude should be different from that of Hindus.

The British attitude of distrust towards the Muslims was further aggrava-

ted by an open propaganda of Christianity in the sub-continent which was mainly directed against the religious susceptibilities of Muslims.

The Muslims had fallen into a state of lethargy with the loss of political power. The disuse of Persian as the official language and introduction of English instead had lowered the general level of culture among them. Further, the alliance of the East India Company with Ranjit Singh, which increased the aggressive power of the Sikhs in the Punjab at the same time that the Afghans were torn by internal dissensions, gave rise to a political movement which had also, as its counterpart, a religious movement in the country. The religious movement was led by Maulana Sayyad Ahmad Shaheed of Bareli, who opened a *Jihad* against the Sikhs in 1826. He captured Peshawar from them in 1829 and carried on further his holy war until 1831 when he died a martyr's death on the battlefield at Balakot in the Hazara district. Maulana Sayyad Ahmad's name became famous not only for his fighting career, but also for his staunch views for puritanical reforms in the Muslim manners, customs and practices by which he wished to sweep away the superstitions and innovations which had sapped the force and vigour of Islam. Among his masters was Maulana Shah Abdul Aziz Muhaddis of Delhi, who died in 1824. His brother, Maulana Abdul Qadir Dehlavi, wrote an Urdu translation of the Quran, with a commentary, which he completed in 1803. The most prominent literary apostle of the movement, however, was a disciple of Maulana Sayyad Ahmad Shaheed, Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur (d. 1873), whose energetic, religious propaganda in Eastern Bengal stirred the Muslim masses and was a factor in the cultural evolution of Muslim Bengal.

Between 1833 and 1856 the British adopted a policy of large-scale expansion of their territory in the sub-continent. Most of the States were annexed on the pretext of lapse as the rulers, like the aristocracy or well-to-do classes all over the world, were often devoid of male heirs. The reason for this is best given by an English writer (Clarke) who says: "The doctrine of lapse was not quite new. John Bull has never been averse to taking possession of a nice estate which costs him nothing."

The last attempt made by the Muslims to recover their power was the unorganised upheaval in 1857, miscalled the Sepoy Mutiny by foreign historians. This upheaval and its disastrous consequences led to the political and economic ruination of the Muslim nation. The British Indian Empire became a stable and efficiently organised power, which sought the co-operation of the majority community of the sub-continent to run its administration; but in its earlier decades it was unhelpful, perhaps more so to the Muslims from whom it had wrenched power and who had been the spearhead of revolt against it in 1857.

As a result, the Muslims suffered most. Their first reaction was to keep aloof and to boycott the British. This was not a very happy choice, as the Muslims were thus being reduced to a status economically and politically inferior to that of the Hindus who had offered their co-operation to the new rulers, and who had already made a good start in learning European social and physical sciences.

This was the situation facing Syed Ahmad Khan in 1858 and in the four decades that followed. He realised that an attitude of mere negation will lead his people nowhere. He realised that the British rule had come to stay for some time and that for the mere struggle

of existence it was necessary for a nation to equip itself with the moral and intellectual tools of the conquering civilization. To use Mr. Toynbee's terminology, he saw the salvation of his nation in seeking the "Herodian" solution and in discarding the "Zealot" one. His supreme effort was directed to make modern education popular among the Muslims, and to give the youth of the nation the kind of training which might enable them to take their proper and effective share in the political and economic destiny of the country.

In the beginning he made sincere efforts to bring about amicable relations between the various communities of India. But in 1885 there came into existence a political association which styled itself "The Indian National Congress". Syed Ahmad Khan closely watched it for three years, and found that it was not liberal enough in its outlook. He hesitated to identify himself or his people with it. About this time Urdu-Hindi language controversy had taken an ugly shape, and even educated Hindus were favouring Hindi on communal grounds. The difference between the Muslim and Hindu civilization impressed him more and more as he watched the growth of political opinion in the British Indian Empire. He was the first Muslim to realise and to state that Hindus and Muslims were really two separate nations, with separate and often conflicting economic, political and cultural interests. He was the first person who saw vaguely the vision of a separate state for a nation. He was the first Pakistani.

The first shot thus fired against the Muslims on the cultural front was an attempt to dislodge Urdu as the national language of the sub-continent. A circular issued in April 1900 came as a jolt to them and they found themselves seriously affected by this resolution in matters of education, commerce and law.

After the death of Syed Ahmad Khan,Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk became the guiding stars in Muslim politics. The language agitation assumed serious proportions, and departing a little from Syed Ahmad Khan's policy of co-operation with the British Government, they expressed their resentment against the new language policy.

These complex circumstances sharpened political consciousness, and it was realised that the Muslims should create a political organisation to safeguard their interests. The entire energies of the Muslim leaders were directed towards organising the Muslims on one political platform, and the first political and social association of the Muslims was formed at Aligarh in 1901.

In the meantime events were moving fast. Realising the discontent among Muslims, and as a balm to the injuries suffered by them, the British Government decided in July 1905 to partition Bengal. It was the first act of fairness to the Muslims; but it was undone in 1911. The Hindus, whose domination was adversely affected by this administrative measure, began to organise opposition. The partition of Bengal presented new opportunities for the Muslims of East Bengal and as such they welcomed it; but the opposition from the Hindus was so great and their attitude so openly communal, that a rapid estrangement of feelings between the Hindus and Muslims resulted. The Muslims who had so far kept more or less aloof from politics, could no longer do so; they were greatly shaken by these distressing events, and it was as a result of this agitation that the famous deputation to Lord Minto was sent to Simla on 1st October, 1906.

The deputation succeeded in securing separate electorate for the Mussalmans. The deputation itself was the most influential and representative body of Muslims which had ever approached the Government of India. The 36 members represented every province and every class of the educated Muslims. Their demand was for fair representation of Muslims in the administration of the country, and for the recognition of their claims as a separate national group.

This prepared the ground for further political moves, and it was decided to call a meeting of the leading Muslims in Dacca on December 30, 1906. At this historic meeting was laid the foundation of the All-India Muslim League which, in the years to come, was to play a most vital role in shaping the political destiny of the sub-continent. It was formed with the primary object of protecting and advancing the political rights of the Muslims.

In the meantime, the partition of Bengal was exploited as the occasion for a violent agitation by the extremist Hindus. Religious feelings were roused. The cry of *Swadeshi* was coupled with that of *Bande Materam*, and ultimately the catastrophe took the recurring form of Hindu-Muslim riots.

The formation of Muslim League at Dacca was the first step towards that higher goal of unification and gradual development of a sense of political realities among the Muslims the events in Bengal had first underlined. The Muslim League, at its very first session at Dacca, gave a serious warning to the Government that in case the partition of Bengal was annulled, the Muslims all over the sub-continent would view it with great alarm. The partition of Bengal thus became a question of life and death for the Muslims of East Bengal. Meanwhile the Muslim League grew in popularity and prestige. A branch was also opened in London which submitted many representations to the British Government, and as a result of all this agitation, Muslim demands were conceded in the famous Despatch of 1st October, 1908. In the Muslim League session of 1909 held at Delhi, H. H. the Aga Khan was elected its permanent President. He strongly took up the cause of Muslim education and mobilised all efforts to spread literacy.

The leaders of the Muslim League were fully conscious of the new opportunities offered by the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 which accepted the Muslim right of "separate electorate". In 1911 the Muslims got their first political shock of the century when, in spite of firm promises and undertakings, the British Government annulled the partition of Bengal. The international situation of the Muslim world also looked bleak with the Italian invasion of Tripolitania which was a Turkish Province. The Balkan War followed soon after that. The dismemberment of European Turkey shook Muslims of the sub-continent deeply, and the tragic happenings in Morocco and Tripoli profoundly affected them.

In this situation the Muslim League appointed a committee to consider the future programme to be adopted. The League changed its creed and demanded self-government for India. In the midst of these events came the declaration of war against Germany. The two great representative organisations of the country, the Congress and the Muslim League, were both demanding radical changes in the working of the Indian Government, and evinced a keen desire to be associated with the administration of the country. When the Muslim League held its next session at Bombay in 1915, it had also on its platform the President of

the Congress; and a new spirit of co-operation was in evidence. This era is an exceptional one in the political history of the British Indian Empire. For the first time the Muslim League took up a challenging attitude and instead of passing resolutions of loyalty to the British Government, expressed resentment against the internment of Maulanas Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Zafar Ali Khan, and the strangulation of the Muslim papers under the Press Act was strongly deplored. Mr. Jinnah moved the famous resolution calling upon the All-India Muslim League to appoint a committee with a view to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms and to authorise that committee to confer with other political organisations. For the first time, also, the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League met in Calcutta in November and again at Lucknow in December 1916, and conjointly settled a detailed scheme of reforms as a definite step towards self-government.

The 'Home Rule' idea was spreading like a wild fire, and it was at this stage that the British Government decided to send out the Secretary of State for India. The announcement of Montague's visit was dramatic in its character and bewildering in its novelty. The Congress and the League waited jointly in the form of a deputation on the Secretary of State on 26th November, 1917, but other mushroom political organisations tried to confuse the issue. Meanwhile the arrest of Muslim leaders had created a piquant situation, and just at that time the inter-communal strife, which had subsided for some time, once again began to show its ugly face, thus embittering the feelings between the Hindus and Muslims. The League considered these riots as a great blow to the common struggle.

The report on the future Constitution of India prepared by Mr. Montague and the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, fell short of the expectation of the people, as a result of which feelings were aroused. The Muslim as well as the Congress leaders condemned the Government proposals. Dr. Ansari warned the Government that the Muslims would not allow for a single minute either the Government or the Hindus to make any changes in the right of separate representation.

The end of the World War I meant further disaster for Turkey, and the Muslims of the sub-continent began a mass agitation on unprecedented scale against the British Government. This went parallel with the non-co-operation movement against the British launched by the Indian National Congress under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi.

The Khilafat Movement, under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of Maulana Mohammad Ali became a movement of the Muslim masses; whereas so far the political awakening was confined only to the spearhead of the Muslim elite and Muslim intellectuals. This was to pave, in course of time, the way for the Muslim League to be a great popular organisation.

It was at this stage that the poet-politician Maulana Hasrat Mohani proposed 'complete independence' for the sub-continent but it was opposed by Mr. Gandhi at Ahmedabad session of the Congress, who was satisfied with the prospect of Dominion Status.

Mr. Jinnah's stand at this juncture was unemotional and he was in favour of a constitutional struggle; he recommended entry into the Councils for the attainment of Dominion Status. For the time being the Muslim League was in oblivion and Khilafat Movement became the centre of activities. Soon efforts were made to revive the League, and Mr. Jinnah

stood once again as the leader of organized political thought among the Muslims. He moved in the Central Legislature the resolution for the appointment of a fresh committee to examine the whole question of reforms.

The abolition of the Khilafat in Kemalist Turkey left the Khilafat Movement in the sub-continent without its *raison d'etre.* The alliance of the Khilafat Movement with the Indian National Congress dissolved into communal riots and political disillusionment. The Muslim political leaders bitterly realised that they were being denied a square deal on the question of representation of Muslims in the various legislatures and other elected bodies, and their share in the services. All hope of unity between Hindus and Muslims was lost for ever. A final attempt made by calling a Unity Conference in 1924 proved abortive. In 1927, the British Government sent the Simon Commission to recommend reforms for the country. The All-India Muslim League had decided that it had nothing to do with the Commission in any form. It was at this stage that Mr. Jinnah moved his famous resolution embodying his 14 points which, in clear-cut terms, defined the safeguards necessary for the Muslim minority.

On 31st October, 1930, the Viceroy of the British Indian Empire announced the British Government's decision to convene a Round Table Conference in London, in which the political leaders of the sub-continent were invited to participate. The Round Table Conference met in London on 12th November, 1930; and the Muslims demanded adequate safeguards to be embodied in the constitution.

It was about this time that the annual session of the Muslim League was held in Allahabad with the great poet Dr. Muhammad Iqbal as its President, who, in his presidential address, demanded the formation of a consolidated Muslim State. He said:

> "...The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions......The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified...I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, and the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims...The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the probelm of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be the invasion one of ideas or of bayonets.
>
> "I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best

interests of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam, an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times."

Few thought at the time that Iqbal's foresight would lead to the creation of the independent and sovereign state of Pakistan.

By this time Mr. Jinnah, who had temporarily settled down in London, was persuaded to return and take up the leadership of the Muslims. He formed a Muslim League Party in the Legislative Assembly. Years of inactivity had sapped the Muslim League; and new life had to be put into it. In April 1936, he convened a session of the All-Indian Muslim League at Bombay where it was decided to fight the forthcoming provincial elections. It was at this session, too, that the All-India Muslim League, by virtue of the resolution adopted in respect of the introduction of provincial autonomy, constituted a Central Parliamentary Board. Next year, at Lucknow, Mr. Jinnah chalked out a more constructive programme. The Muslim League decided to widen its appeal and include not only the educated few, but also the masses of Muslims by the million.

It was a difficult task for this newly-revived organization to contest the elections in all the provinces, specially when the Muslims all over India were in a numerical minority, educationally backward and economically exploited. Though the League met with limited success at this stage, it gave it the opportunity to voice the feelings of the Muslims in the Legislatures.

On assumption of office in the Hindu majority provinces, the Congress began indulging in provocative and disparaging utterances, denouncing the Muslim League and asserting with characteristic impetuosity that there were only two parties in the country—the Congress and the British Government. Worse than this was the treatment meted out to the economic and cultural interests of the Muslims by the Congress Government. This challenge to their economic and social existence had its response in a growing political consciousness which swelled the ranks of the Muslim League, and made it under Mr. Jinnah's determined and efficient leadership, the second largest political party in the sub-continent—second only to its Hindu adversary, the Indian National Congress. From 1937 to 1947, as a mass organization of the Muslims, the League grew from strength to strength. Its programmes became revolutionary, and in 1937 the Muslim League took the momentous decision to change its aim from attaining responsible government to full independence. It also demanded the abolition of landlordism.

In 1939, when the World War II began, the British Government had to readjust its policy in India. To embarrass the British Government the Congress decided that its Ministries in various provinces should resign; this was celebrated by Muslims everywhere as a Day of Deliverance. The fortunes of war were going against the British Government and it was forced to enlist the support of the Congress.

During the war years the Muslim League also revised and finalised its programme and aim. At last Iqbal's concept was accepted, and in 1940 the *Pakistan Resolution* was

passed at the historic session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore. It laid down:

"That it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituted units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

"That this session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

Iqbal had died two years ago; but now his ideological lead was accepted by Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League and the 100 million Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

There followed a period of great stress and strain. The war reached the frontier of the sub-continent. The entry of Japan and the reverses of Allies on many fronts contributed towards the decision of the Congress to launch a movement at a time when the British Government was engaged in its struggle for existence. Unfortunately, instead of enlisting the full support of the Muslim League which was benevolently neutral, the British Government still seemed to be anxious to enlist Congress support. The failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission had greatly encouraged the Congress leaders and they thought that the British Government could not do without them. A Parliamentary Delegation visited India and the then Viceroy, Lord Wavell, called a meeting of the Congress and Muslim League leaders at Simla. Mr. Jinnah took a firm stand on the demand of Pakistan which had now become the creed of the Muslim League and made its acceptance a necessary condition for any fruitful discussion. The Wavell Plan could not succeed as it fell short of the Muslim aspirations.

The Parliamentary Delegation was followed by a Cabinet Mission, which put a new plan before the country. It offered a zonal solution which was accepted in the first instance by the Muslim League, but the bargaining tactics and the mental reservations of the Congress leaders wrecked this chance of the unity of the sub-continent for ever. Very soon Muslim League, under pressure of the popular demand, reverted to the uncompromising stand on Pakistan, an independent sovereign state of the Muslim nation, as the only acceptable solution.

In the meantime the assumption of office by the Congress at the Centre was considered as a very serious blow to the Muslims, and a meeting of the League Council was convened in Bombay where the historic "Direct Action" Resolution was passed. All members of

the Muslim League were called upon to give up their titles conferred upon them by the British Government, and the Muslim League thus came into direct conflict with the British Government, which had enlisted the support of Congress leaders as its Ministers.

The Muslim League had by now proved beyond all doubt that it was the only representative organisation of the Muslims. Already in the Central and Provincial elections the Muslim League had won the overwhelming majority of Muslim votes. When the Muslim League accepted office in a Coalition with the Congress under the Viceroy, the achievement of Pakistan was not far away. A conference was called by the British Government in London which was attended by the Muslim League and the Congress representatives. This was followed by an announcement on June 3, 1947, conceding the demand of Pakistan, and the Indian independence.

Thus the struggle which began in 1857 came to an end on 14th August, 1947, when Pakistan came into existence and the Muslims, after a long period of servitude, again achieved an independent state of their own. It was the culmination of the great struggle which had actively started 90 years ago. Many sacrifices were made, much hardship was suffered, but throughout these trials and tribulations the Muslims stood firm. They did not lose their identity as a separate nation with a distinct culture of their own which had already carved for itself a place in the history of human progress.

The events of the 19th century had convinced them that in any common set-up with the other nation of the sub-continent (which was thrice their number), they had no share except that of camp-followers. From 1936 till 1947, Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah was the pivot round whom the whole Muslim League politics moved. Never before had the Muslims of the sub-continent rallied round one leader, stood on one platform and united under one flag. Disruptionists were there but they could not succeed in their machinations. In spite of all temptations, the Muslims refused to be overawed or cowed down. They had great faith in their destiny and they succeeded in achieving it.

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In these pages is presented a pictorial record of this heroic struggle. The inclusion of photographs is only a modest tribute to those who contributed in their own way to this struggle and brought it to a successful culmination either by actively participating in it or by writing and campaigning for it. Photographs of many others could not be included as they were not easily available. The omissions, however, do not in any way show any lack of appreciation of their effort or contribution. Those who did their best cannot and will not be forgotten. Those who died for the noble cause—and their numbers swelled into hundreds of thousands—will long be remembered in the annals of our history.

ILLUSTRATIONS

EARLY RESISTANCE

At the turn of the 18th century the decline of Muslim might over the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent became rapid. For want of an effective centralized power after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the authority and prestige of the Mughul rule was seriously undermined by events like the sacking of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, the loss of Afghanistan in the north-west, and the rise of the Marathas in the south-west of the sub-continent. The vice-regents of the Emperor in various provinces (called *Nawabs* and *Subedars*) gained varying degrees of autonomy, and the suzerainty of the Mughul emperor was nominal even in those provinces which were not up in revolt or in a state of chaos. The British East India Company, which had settlements at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and was slowly gaining an ascendancy over its French rivals, saw an opportunity to make a bid for power in the rich province of Bengal, then ruled by the young Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah. The latter tried to check the growth of British influence by capturing Kasimbazar and Calcutta, but was defeated at Plassey in June, 1757, where the East India Company, aided by large-scale desertions routed the Nawab's forces.

Immediately after this event the British East India Company obtained the *Diwani*, or collectorship of the revenues of Bengal from Emperor Shah Alam, and within ten years assumed full administrative control of the province.

The chaos in other provinces and rivalry between the chiefs of the new semi-independent states and their internecine warfare gave the expanding British and French colonial enterprise its chance of intrigue and interference. The drama of the rivalry of the French and the British was played in this sub-continent, just as it was being enacted on the continent of Europe, on the high seas and in the New World.

In this sub-continent the British influence grew from strength to strength, eliminating the French, playing one indigenous chief against the other, filling in the vacuum which the political chaos of the disintegration of the Mughul Empire had created.

After Bengal the next arena of stiff resistance was Mysore in the south of the sub-continent. Here Haider Ali proved to be a redoubtable adversary. After his death in 1782, his kingdom was encircled and the struggle was continued by his gallant son Tipu Sultan. Abandoned by the French whose support had been promised him and with a coalition of powers ranged against him, Tipu continued to resist the growth of British power. But the odds were against this great fighter who fell fighting in the battlefield in 1799. With him also fell the last bastion of Muslim power in the sub-continent. The British had no determined opposition thereafter and soon the sub-continent came under their control.



Siraj-ud-Daulah

Siraj-ud-Daulah

Siraj-ud-Daulah became the Nawab of Bengal after the death of his grand-father, Ali Vardi Khan, in 1756. The year-and-a-half of his rule was eventful. The British were seeking to expand and consolidate their power in the sub-continent. Bengal, the richest province, was perhaps ideally suited to further their designs. Siraj-ud-Daulah, however, anticipating trouble, captured Calcutta from the British, but later came to terms with them, conceding only what was fair. Defections in his ranks proved his undoing very soon. Mir Jaffar, who was promised the Governorship of the province by the British in return, betrayed the Nawab at the Battle of Plassey, which marked the final victory of the British in Bengal in 1757. Siraj-ud-Daulah was killed in the same year.

Tipu Sultan

In the history of the Muslims of the sub-continent few men occupy a place of higher eminence than the indomitable Tipu Sultan, the Martyr of Mysore. After the death of his father Haider Ali in 1782, Tipu Sultan followed worthily the trail set ablaze by him. Tipu Sultan, however, met with less luck than his father. The Nizam and Marathas openly and determinedly opposed him in coalition with the British, and the brave Sultan found himself fighting a lone battle against a coalition of well organized forces.

When Tipu fell ultimately in 1799 fighting the British and the Nizam, the last stronghold of Muslim might in the sub-continent fell too. After his death the British met with little resistance for over half-a-century in the sub-continent.

Tipu Sultan→





Balakot



Tomb of Syed Ahmad Shaheed

Mujahideen Movement

The Mujahideen Movement, considered as one of the greatest revivals in the history of the sub-continent, was the direct result of the oppressive anti-Muslim regime of Ranjit Singh in the Punjab.

Thousands of Believers from the north rallied to the inspired call of Hazrat Syed Ahmad Shaheed Barelvi and, on 2nd December, 1826, they launched a determined Jihad against the tyrannical Sikhs. The Jihad continued for well-nigh five years during which a number of brave crusaders fell. The latter were far outnumbered by their adversaries, yet so courageously had they fought that they at last captured Peshawar by the end of 1830. Following this there rose inner differences among the Muslim fighters. The tide turned when Syed Ahmad was slain while fighting against the Sikh army under Prince Sher Singh in May, 1831, at Balakot (in the Abbottabad district of the North-West frontier in West Pakistan.

Syed Ahmad Barelvi was a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz who was the son of Shah Waliullah, the greatest theologian of the sub-continent. The movement led by Syed Ahmad Barelvi is sometimes loosely called the Wahabi Movement because his theological teachings were very much akin to those of Hazrat Abdul Wahab of Arabia. Syed Ahmad was sometimes called Mujaddid (the Renovator of Faith). He had a deep-set desire for freeing his country-men from the foreign yoke and of reclaiming his Muslim brethren from iniquity and idleness. A prominent disciple of Syed Ahmad was Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur who, through his well-organized and well-planned efforts extending over half-a-century, revitalized Islamic life in East Bengal.

THE 1857 STRUGGLE

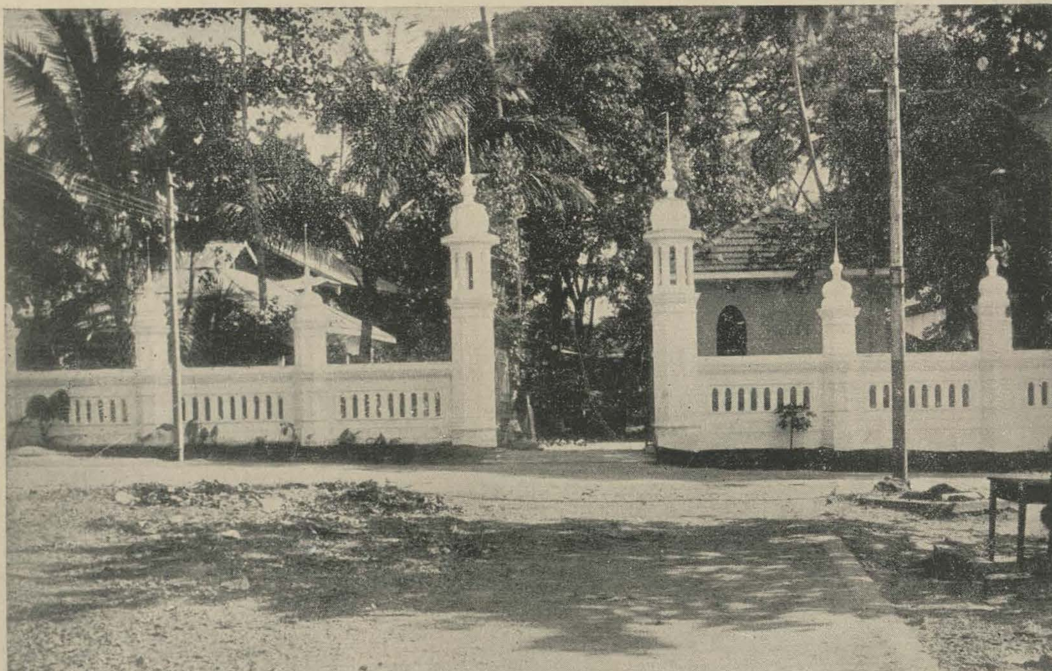
The struggle for freedom in the year 1857 is perhaps the outstanding event in the history of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent during the 19th century.

For long described by foreign historians as the "Sepoy Mutiny", it has since been established as the first national struggle for independence, which, though beginning with disaffection in the armed forces, gave an outlet to the long pent-up feelings of the entire Muslim nation in the sub-continent. For, it was they who had lost most of all under the East India Company's rule. The attitude of the British towards the Muslims was born chiefly of suspicion and distrust. Persian was replaced by English as the official language of the country and the Christian missionaries stepped up their activities with the blessings and even with the funds of the State. As against the Muslims, the Hindus were in a far better position. They received preference and even patronage of the British and were soon adjusting themselves under their new rulers.

Apart from these, the events that directly preceded and, in fact, gave birth to the struggle were, according to one of the greatest reformer-leaders of the time—Sir Syed Ahmad Khan—the economic depression prevailing in the country, aggravated by confiscations of free-holds, wholesale auctioning of large Zamindaris and estates and the practice of an unrealistic revenue system. The Government officials had become extremely autocratic, with the result that they could not be approached by the public for redress due to fear or mistrust. Thus, the Government of the East India company remained most ill-informed about the abject conditions then prevailing in the sub-continent and, unlike the Mughul emperors, took no interest in the well-being of the people, placing themselves above the local inhabitants of the country.

Thus it was that suffering, discontent, economic depression and increasing fear of encroachment upon religious, social and political freedom, all combined to produce the first national struggle for independence in the year 1857.





Tomb of Bahadur Shah Zafar in Rangoon

The Struggle

Though the clouds of 'portentous forebodings' had been hovering on the horizon for quite some time, the British chose to wait and watch. This, either because they thought the matter too trifling for a second thought, or because, even if they would, they could do but little. Almost the entire Army was locally raised, and if the latter chose to 'mutiny', there was nothing to stop them.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was the refusal by local troops first at Meerut, then elsewhere, to use cartridges the grease of which hurt their religious susceptibilities. This was on the 10th of May, 1857. The parade was dismissed and the 85 troopers were arrested, brought to a speedy court-martial and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. This led to open insurrection.

The revolt spread to Delhi. On the morning of 12th May the troops reported to Emperor Bahadur Shah and pledged obedience. The pattern of a new regime rapidly took shape. Mirza Zahooruddin was appointed Commander-in-Chief with other princes as



Red Fort of Delhi

Colonels of the regiments. On May 19, Maulvi Muhammad Sayeed raised the standard of *Jehad* in the *Jami Masjid* at Delhi.

The British thought that the immediate step towards the suppression of the "revolt" should be the recapture of the Imperial Capital, and the whole of the following month they began accumulating forces on the out-skirts of the city, while those of the Emperor were collecting inside.

Mohammed Bakht Khan, Commander of the Bareilly force, came to Delhi and offered the Emperor his services and those of his force, along with a large amount of cash.

Fighting and resistance was not easy for the patriots. Apart from the money brought by Bakht Khan, the Emperor drew on his Treasury and had also to take loans from bankers and merchants of Delhi. The protracted war created the problem of supplies. As the British troops advanced, the supplies became short, and were finally completely cut off, creating famine conditions within the capital. Meanwhile, the British tried to reclaim the Sikhs, who had offered to join the Imperial forces, by exploiting their communal animosity against the Muslims. They tried to create internal dissensions within the court by winning



Storming of Delhi

over prominent nobles and also set up a ring of spies who passed over to the British intimate information about the projected plans of the Emperor's patriotic supporters.

On 6th August the Bareilly and Neemuch forces made a joint attack on the British concentrations at Alipur and at the Mithai Bridge and forced them to retreat. But a few days later Col. Nicholson brought a 25,000-man strong reinforcement from the Punjab, and frantic preparations for a decisive battle started. Within the city Hakim Ahsanullah Khan, an intimate courtier of the Emperor, was bought over by the British and engineered a gun-powder explosion, killing 494 persons in the Imperial magazine in the city.

On 4th September the British forces received their siege guns and on the 14th the massive Kashmiri Gate was shattered to pieces with a tremendous explosion. Diseased, famished, and outnumbered, the national army fought with great courage. Bullets, stones, brickbats, shafts, logs and whatever they could lay their hands on, they hurled at the advancing hosts. Familiar landmarks of Delhi, the Kashmiri Gate, the Magazine, the Water Bastion and the Jami Masjid were all scenes of intense fighting.



The Siege at Delhi

The besieged forces held on for six long days, fighting with great courage, and then they could hold out no longer. A battery of 24 pounders and mortars forced its way to the main entrance of the Red Fort—where lived Bahadur Shah, the last of the Mughul Emperors. The main gate was blown open. But 30 Mughul warriors barred the way, swords in hand. The British columns could enter over their dead bodies only to find Bahadur Shah missing. He and the royal princes had trekked down to the tomb of Humayun, six miles away from the city.

What followed was a savage reign of terror. Plunder and massacre was the order of the day. "The troops", wrote Saunders, the Commissioner of Delhi, "were completely disorganized and demoralized by the immense amount of plunder which fell into their hands. ." "Every native that could be found," his wife tells us, "was killed by the soldiers."

Emperor Bahadur Shah was tried by a military commission constituted under instructions from Sir John Lawrence, on four main charges, the most important being that he, being a subject of the British Government, proclaimed himself sovereign of India and waged war against the Government. The defence was 'too cowed to put forward the juristic argument of



Capture and death of Royal princes

still subsisting Imperial Mughul rights'. Because it was really *the East India Company which had rebelled against the Emperor.* The East India Company had concluded no formal treaty with the Emperor after the one of 1765 *in which the Imperial supremacy was clearly acknowledged by the British.* But at this stage the Emperor had only the legal right and not the power; the *de facto* power had by this time gone into the hands of the Company and the struggle for independence was described as a "mutiny".

After a long trial, lasting from January 27 to March 9, 1858, the last of the Great Mughuls was deported as an exile to Rangoon along with Queen Zinat Mahal Begum, her son Mirza Jawan Bakht and others.

The early post-1857 period was a painful nightmare for the Muslims of the sub-continent. Extreme suspicion on one side and deep consciousness of political servility on the other, made life an unenviable lot for them. Slowly, however, under the guidance of men like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the Muslims began adjusting themselves. Soon they realized also that 1857 had not come in vain. The full impact of it was to come home to them decades later when the struggle for independence started all over again.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

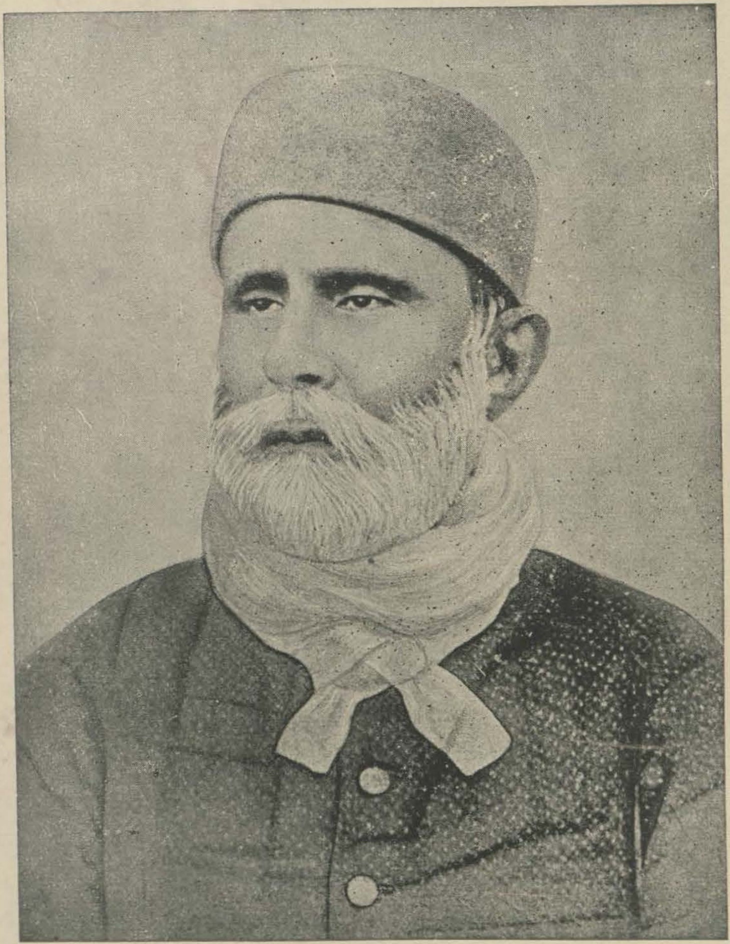
For four decades between 1858 and 1898, Sir Syed was the pivot round whom the entire Muslim politics moved. A great thinker and reformer, he shaped the destiny of Muslims in the sub-continent and galvanised a frustrated mass of people into a nation with a future. Moved by the tragic events of 1857, he dedicated himself to the service of his people.

He was the first in an age of reactionary conservatism to realise that no progress was possible without education. He founded the first College for Muslims in the sub-continent at Aligarh as a first step towards the Muslim University of his dreams. To this end, he devoted all his energies and, in the face of great opposition, succeeded in popularising modern thought and scientific education among the Muslims.

He was also the founder of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference and founded two other organisations for protecting the interests of Muslims—the Patriotic Association, and the Muslim Defence Association. He clearly saw the future of Muslims as a sovereign, independent nation quite distinct from the Hindus, and warned them to keep themselves aloof from the activities of the Indian National Congress. A great writer of Urdu prose, Syed Ahmad Khan was also the author of a number of books which have been widely read.

The most dominant figure of the 19th century, Syed Ahmad Khan was treated with respect both by the British Government and the politicians of other communities, including his adversaries. The Aligarh Muslim University is a living monument to this eminent educationist and far-sighted politician who inspired generations of Muslims to strive towards an independent homeland.





Altaf Husain Hali

Altaf Husain Hali is a poet who gave Urdu literature one of its most inspiring long poems, *Musaddas-i-Hali.* Sir Syed Ahmad Khan inspired him with a missionary zeal for the work of Muslim national uplift, and it was his simple and deeply moving poetry which, in turn, inspired millions and awakened a decadent people to revive their lost glory and look to the future with renewed hope. His influence on literary criticism was equally great.

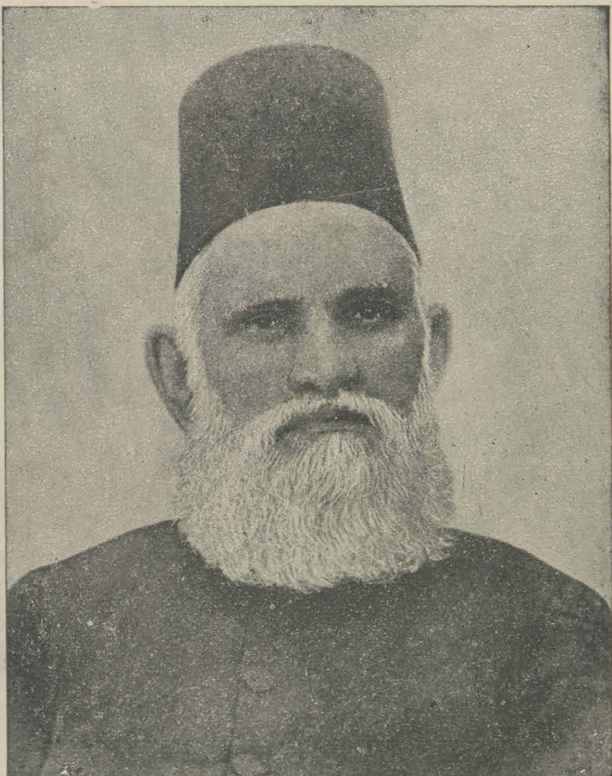
 

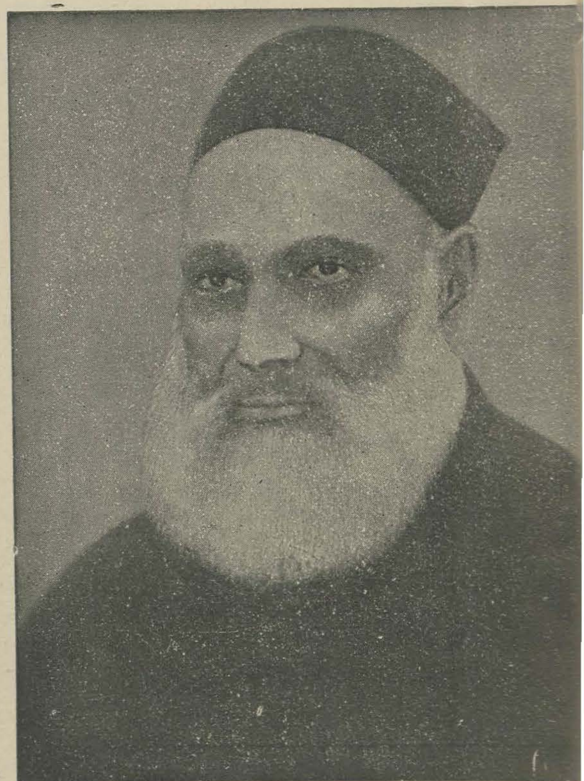
Shibli Nomani

Shibli Nomani was a great oriental scholar and historian. He joined the Aligarh College as Professor of Oriental Languages, and later founded an institution *Nudwatul Ulema* at Lucknow – unique because it sought to impart modern Western knowledge along with the usual courses of study in oriental subjects. His published work include *Sherul-Ajam*, an outstanding critical treatise on Persian poetry, and *Seeratun-Nabi*, a monumental work on .he life of the Prophet.

Nazir Ahmad

The pioneer of Urdu novel, Nazir Ahmad had his fingers on the pulse of the Muslim nation during those critical decades when Muslim society was in a flux, torn between the glory that was no more, and the destiny which was then only a matter of speculation. In his novels he sought to eradicate social evils inherent in a decadent society, particularly those caused by ignorance, illiteracy and frustration.



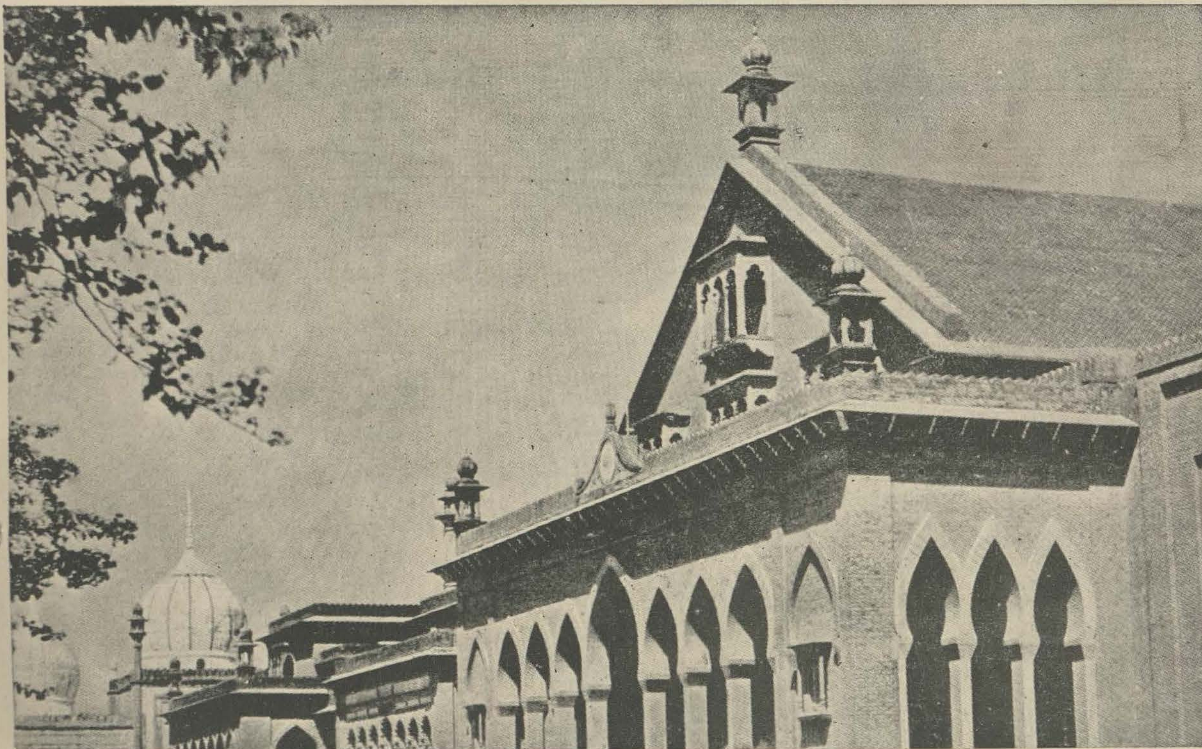


Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk

Among those who carried on the mission of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan after his death, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk were the foremost. After his retirement from Hyderabad, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk settled at Aligarh where he became the Honorary Secretary of the College which had been founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. A forceful speaker and a great writer, he led a campaign in 1900 against Sir Anthony MacDonald's policy of replacing Urdu with Hindi. It was on his suggestion that a deputation was organised and sent to Simla in 1906.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk too, returned to Aligarh after retiring from Hyderabad and took over as Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College after Mohsin-ul-Mulk's death. He played a very prominent part in the Muslim political movement, and was one of the sponsors of the Simla Deputation of 1906. He also inaugurated the first session of the All-India Muslim League at Dacca in December of the same year.



Strachy Hall, Aligarh

The Aligarh University

In December, 1870, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan organized at Benares a 'Society for the Educational Progress of the Indian Muslims'. This Society took the memorable decision of founding the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. This after some years grew into the Aligarh Muslim University. It became the chief response of the Muslims of the sub-continent to their backwardness in social and administrative spheres.

The venue chosen for the College was Aligarh where Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had been a Sub-Judge for a number of years. The year 1875 marks the humble beginning of the institution that was in subsequent years to play a vital role in the upsurge of the Muslims of this sub-continent.

PAN-ISLAMISM
AND KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

During the nineteenth century the Russian and Western Powers were making large acquisitions all over the world. The Caucasus and Central Asia, North Africa and the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent were all taken over by them. The 300 million Muslims of the world saw in this a growing menace to their security.

They realized that the disintegration of their world was due in the first place to deviations from the Faith. The future of the Muslims all over the world, it was felt, would be ensured only through collective allegiance both to God and to his representative on earth—the Caliph.

Sayyid Jamaluddin Al-Afghani (1838-1897) was the first to raise the banner of Pan-Islamism in the 70's of the 19th century. His message to Muslims all over the world was, firstly, to present a united front against the imperialist West, and secondly, to cast aside their fears and suspicions and to adopt the institutions and techniques that were the secret of Western strength. The only political rallying point of the Muslims in those days could be Istanbul because not only was it the seat of the Caliphate (*Khilafat*) but it was also the citadel of the Ottoman Empire, still by far the most advanced Muslim power.

The idea of Pan-Islamism fired the imagination of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Having recently lost their freedom to a foreign Power and acutely conscious of their altered status, the message of Pan-Islamism inspired them with a new hope and a rare faith in their future.

However, the *Khilafat Movement* started in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent only after the first World War, when, as the aftermath of the Turkish defeat by the victorious allies, it appeared that Turkey, the last independent stronghold of Islam, was likely to be dismembered and that some provinces of the Ottoman Empire were likely to pass under the sway of Non-Islamic Powers. A wave of anger swept through the Islamic world and the agitated Muslims of this sub-continent protested strongly to the victorious allies. This constituted the *Khilafat Movement* in the sub-continent.

The *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind* was born of this movement and, in conjunction with the *Khilafat Conference* and Muslim League led the struggle. Non-violent non-co-operation was decided upon by Muslims of the sub-continent but the movement finally petered out, mainly because its *raison d'etre* was lost with the termination of the Caliphate by Kemal Ataturk in Turkey.

The movement, however, served to demonstrate the religious and political cohesion among the Muslims of the sub-continent and later gave an impetus to the struggle for independence and for a separate homeland for Muslims.



Jamaluddin Afghani

The writing and dynamic personality of Jamaluddin Afghani exercised a deep influence on nascent Muslim nationalism in all countries which he visited or where his teachings reached. He was an idealist who dreamt of Muslim renaissance and, like Iqbal later in the day, made a fervent plea for a vigorous reinterpretation of Islam to rid it of the wild undergrowth which had sapped its vitality, and to revive its broad healthy principles of democratic progress.



Maulana Mohammad Ali

Pioneer of the Khilafat Movement and a dauntless fighter in the struggle for independence from foreign domination, Maulana Mohammad Ali was a fiery orator, and wielded a powerful pen. He headed the movement of his own time for closer collaboration between Turkey and the Muslims of this part of the world; and his historic series of leading articles on the "Choice of the Turk" went a long way in making Turkey's case better understood both in Asia and Europe.

Born in 1878, he was educated at Aligarh and Oxford. He was assured of a distinguished career in Baroda State, but abandoned it in 1910 to fight for the cause of his fellow countrymen.

Like Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah, he also began his political career in the Indian National Congress and made great sacrifices, but was soon disillusioned on publication of the Nehru Report which revealed the communal bias of those who held the reigns of that Hindu-dominated organisation.

Disgusted with this attitude of Mr. Gandhi and his Congress, he broke away from him saying: "We refuse to join Mr. Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India, but for making 70 million of Muslims dependents of the Hindu Mahasabha."

He revolutionised Muslim thought by his writings in *Comrade*, a weekly paper published by him. He was also a member of the Round Table Conference held in London where he uttered his prophetic wish: "I would prefer to die on the soil of a country which is free, rather than return to a slave country." He did not return; he died soon after.



Dr. Ansari



Hakim Ajmal Khan

Dr. Ansari

Leader of the "Hilal-i-Ahmar Medical Mission" of Indian Muslims sent to Turkey for administering relief and medical aid to the Turks in 1912, Dr. M.A. Ansari was President of All-India Muslim League in the year 1920, when his Presidential Address was prescribed by the British Government. A champion of the Muslim cause and a philanthropist, Dr. Ansari was also a physician of great reputation.

Hakim Ajmal Khan

Founder of the sub-continent's biggest College of Oriental medicine (Tibbiya College), Hakim Ajmal Khan was one of the sponsors of the Muslim League in 1906. He was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Muslim League session held in Delhi in 1909, and later became its President. He took a prominent part in the Khilafat agitation of 1920-24.





Shaukat Ali

Maulana Shaukat Ali, along with his illustrious brother Maulana Mohammad Ali, was among the first-rank fighters for independence. Educated at Aligarh, he started taking active interest in politics from the very beginning. An orator of rare excellence, he presided over the first Khilafat Conference in 1919 at Amritsar, and organised the movement in the sub-continent. He was a staunch partisan of Civil Disobedience Movement first decided upon at Allahabad in 1910 and participated in the All-Parties Muslim Conference held in 1928. He had to undergo imprisonment for his nationalistic convicitions.

Zafar Ali Khan

Journalist, poet and politician, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan received his early training under Mohsin-ul-Mulk. A great champion of the Muslim cause, he wrote fearlessly against the British Government and suffered imprisonment for a long period. He was a member of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly before independence and Member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League.



Aga Khan III

Born in Karachi on 2nd November 1877, H.R.H. the late Aga Khan had been a leader of Muslim public and political opinion since the early days of the present century. In 1906, he led the historic Simla Deputation, which included outstanding Muslim representatives from all parts of the country. They waited on the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, on 1st October 1906, and presented to him a Memorandum which demanded separate electorate and safeguard of Muslim rights as the first substantial step towards what gradually developed into a demand for separate Muslim homeland. The Memorandum said, *inter alia*: "The Muslims of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty-two million or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian dominions. We, therefore, desire to submit that under any system of representation, extended or limited, a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first class European power except Russia, may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State."

This resulted in the creation of the Muslim League later the same year. The Aga Khan joined the Muslim League and was its permanent President from 1909 to 1914. One of the most senior Muslim statesmen of the sub-continent, the Aga Khan came into close touch with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who presented the young Prince with an address of welcome on his first visit to Aligarh in 1896, and sought his help to make the cherished dream of a Muslim University a reality. The Aga Khan worked with missionary zeal to achieve this objective, and after Sir Syed's death, led the Aligarh Movement, and collected Rs. 3,000,000 for the foundation of the Muslim University. The Aga Khan also presided over the All-India Muslim Conference in 1928 and led the Muslim Delegation at the Round Table Conference held in London from 1930-32. Due to his personal efforts, the political rights of Muslims were protected, and separate electorate for Muslims in the earlier reforms was followed by the separation of Sind from Bombay and by raising the North-West Frontier Province to the status of a Governor's province in 1936.

An outstanding Muslim scholar, the Aga Khan donated liberally to Muslim causes throughout the world. As President of the General Assembly of the League of Nations, he welcomed Egypt, Iraq, Turkey and other Muslim Nations into the League of Nations. The Aga Khan was a great admirer of the Quaid-i-Azam and lent him his full support in the Muslim struggle for freedom.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE

(First Phase)

The first thirty years of the century mark the first phase of the struggle of Muslims of the sub-continent for self-rule under the leadership of men like the Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Maulanas Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, and the Aga Khan.

The Hindus under the Indian National Congress had thrown up the mask of nationalism and had come out in their true colours of communalism. 'Arya Varta for the Aryans' was their slogan; *Shuddhi*, *Sangathan* and *Bande Matram* had dyed deep the struggle for *Swaraj*. Under the circumstances the Muslim leaders saw the need for consolidating their ranks in order to protect and promote the interests of the Muslims. The work of Muslim uplift begun by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was carried further by Nawabs Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk attaining a landmark on December 30, 1906, when the All-India Muslim League was formed at Dacca.

From its very inception the Muslim League started work on the reform schemes and by 1913 established its creed for attaining self-Government for the people. On annulment of the partition of Bengal it made a strong protest to the Government. Then the British acceded to the Muslim damand for separate electorate. Quaid-i-Azam brought great pressure to bear on the authorities for post-war reforms, which resulted in overtures like Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Proposals. During this period Quaid-i-Azam worked untiringly for Hindu-Muslim unity and was hailed "Ambassador of Unity". The British knew well the mood of the time. So they resorted to measures of extreme suppressions through Martial Law, imprisonment and firing. Coincident with this came the defeat and humiliation of Turkey at the hands of the British and their allies. Muslims started the impassioned Khilafat Movement in protest against the British attitude towards the Khalifa at Turkey. In conjunction with the Congress, the Muslim League then adopted the non-violent non-cooperation with the British rulers, but it failed to bear fruit in the face of British suppression. The Muslim leaders condemned the high-handedness of the Government and demanded that a Round Table Conference be held to settle differences and that a Commission be appointed for the overhauling of the Constitution. With a view to the latter, the Government appointed the Simon Commission some years later. This Commission was totally boycotted by the people since it did not contain any of their representatives. A year later (1928) the Quaid presented his 14-Point Programme for eliminating the grievances of the people.



Foundation of Muslim League

The time had come when Muslims could no longer keep aloof from the political current, and the need for a strong political organisation was felt on all sides to fight for and safeguard the interests of the Muslim nation.

On December 30, 1906, Nawab Salimullah of Dacca convened a conference of representative Muslim leaders from all over India, who met in Dacca under the Chairmanship of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. It was at this Conference that Nawab Salimullah, in a memorable speech surveying the political situation *vis-a-vis* the Indian Muslims, moved a Resolution which was unanimously carried, and which resolved that a political association, styled 'the All-India Muslim League', be formed 'to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Mussalmans of India', to represent their needs and aspirations to the Government, and 'to prevent the rise among the Mussalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other objects of the League'.



Nawab Salimullah

(*Continued*

The resolution was seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi and supported by a dozen speakers. A provisional committee was formed with Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk as Joint Secretaries, to frame a constitution and to authorise and convene a representative meeting of Indian Muslims at a suitable time and place and put the constitution before that body for its final approval.

Thus came into being the All-India Muslim League which was to play a most vital role in the Muslim struggle for independence and for a separate homeland of their own. The formation of the Muslim League in itself was a significant fact. "For once and all, it proved beyond doubt that India was no longer one nation, nor could it be welded into one."

There are many spheres of Muslim uplift in which Nawab Salimullah rendered valuable services, but the establishment of the Muslim League was undoubtedly the crowning glory of his brilliant career.



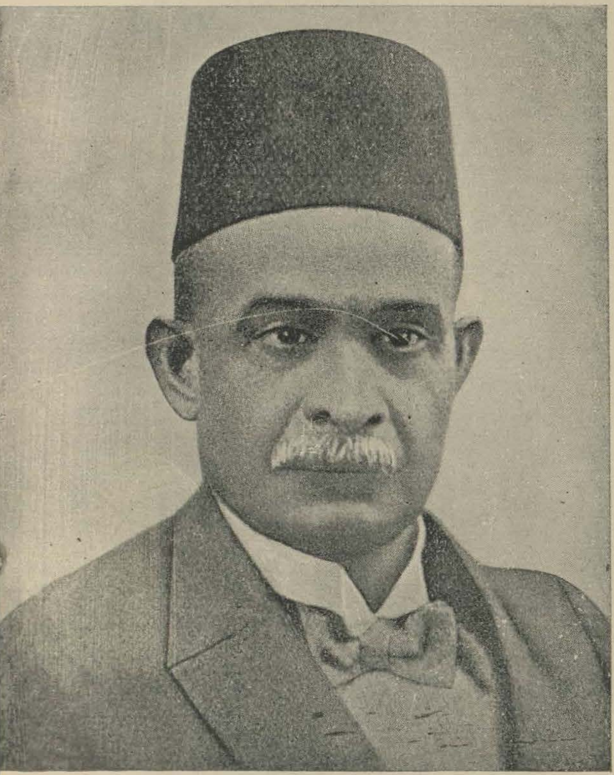
Syed Ali Imam

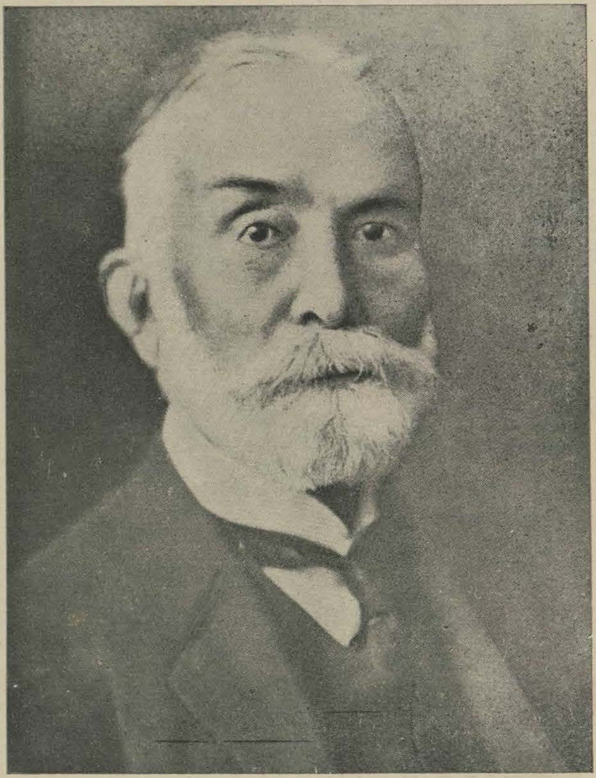
A great lawyer and statesman, Syed Ali Imam was one of the signatories to the Memorandum presented to Lord Minto, the then Viceroy of India, in 1906. Two years later, in 1908, he presided over the Third Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Amritsar. He was the first Muslim to be appointed Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and later became President of the Nizam's Executive Council.



Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury

One of the most eloquent advocates of the partition of Bengal which came about in 1905, Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury took a prominent part in shaping the Muslim politics of those early years when the Muslim League was not yet established. He was also one of the sponsors of the Simla Deputation of 1906 which led to the formation of the All-India Muslim League later the same year at Dacca. A great philanthropist and statesman, he also served a term as Minister in the Bengal Government. His grandson, Mr Mohammed Ali, was for some time the Prime Minister of Pakistan.





Sir Abdur Rahim

One of the pioneers of Muslim awakening in Bengal, Sir Abdur Rahim rose to be a Judge of the Madras High Court and a Minister in Bengal Government. For a long time he sat in the Indian Legislature as the Leader of the Independent Party and later became the President of the Central Legislature. One of the sponsors of the Simla Deputation, he presided over the annual session of the Muslim League in the year 1925.

Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami

One of the sponsors of the Deputation to Lord Minto in 1906 regarding the representation of Muslim rights, Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami was a brilliant scholar as well as a seasoned politician. He was appointed a Minister of Hyderabad State and in 1909 became a Member of the then India Council. He was the author of a number of books on Muslim politics and Muslim educational problems, and also presided over the All-India Muslim Educational Conference.



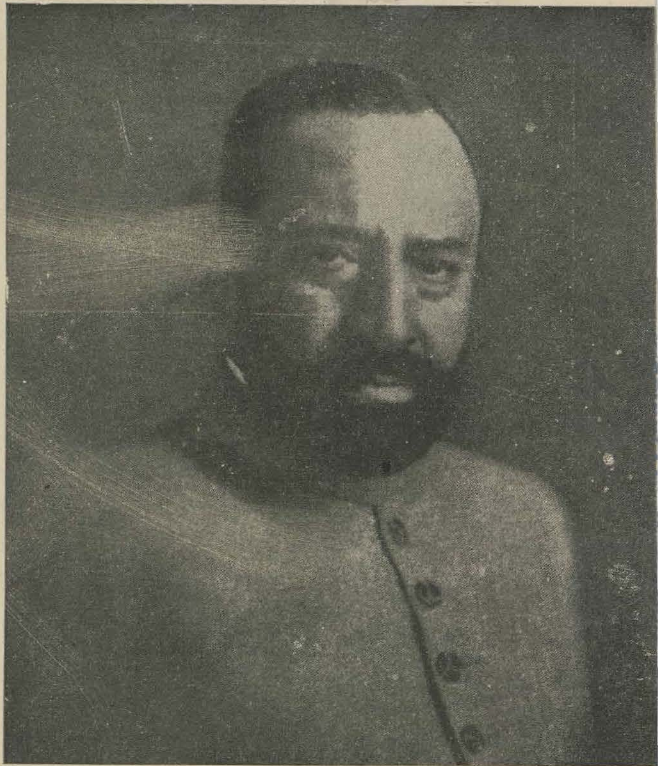


Mian Mohd. Shafi

Mian Mohammad Shafi took an active interest in the political life of the Muslims, and represented them in the Punjab and the Central Legislature. He was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and took a prominent part in the deliberations of the London Round Table Conference, and successfully pleaded for the continuation of separate electorates for the Muslims. He presided over the Muslim League session of 1912.

Justice Shah Din

A Judge of the Lahore High Court, and a great oriental scholar, Justice Shah Din was the President of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, and rendered yeoman's service to the cause of Muslim education. He was one of the signatories to the Memorandum presented by the Simla Deputation in 1906.

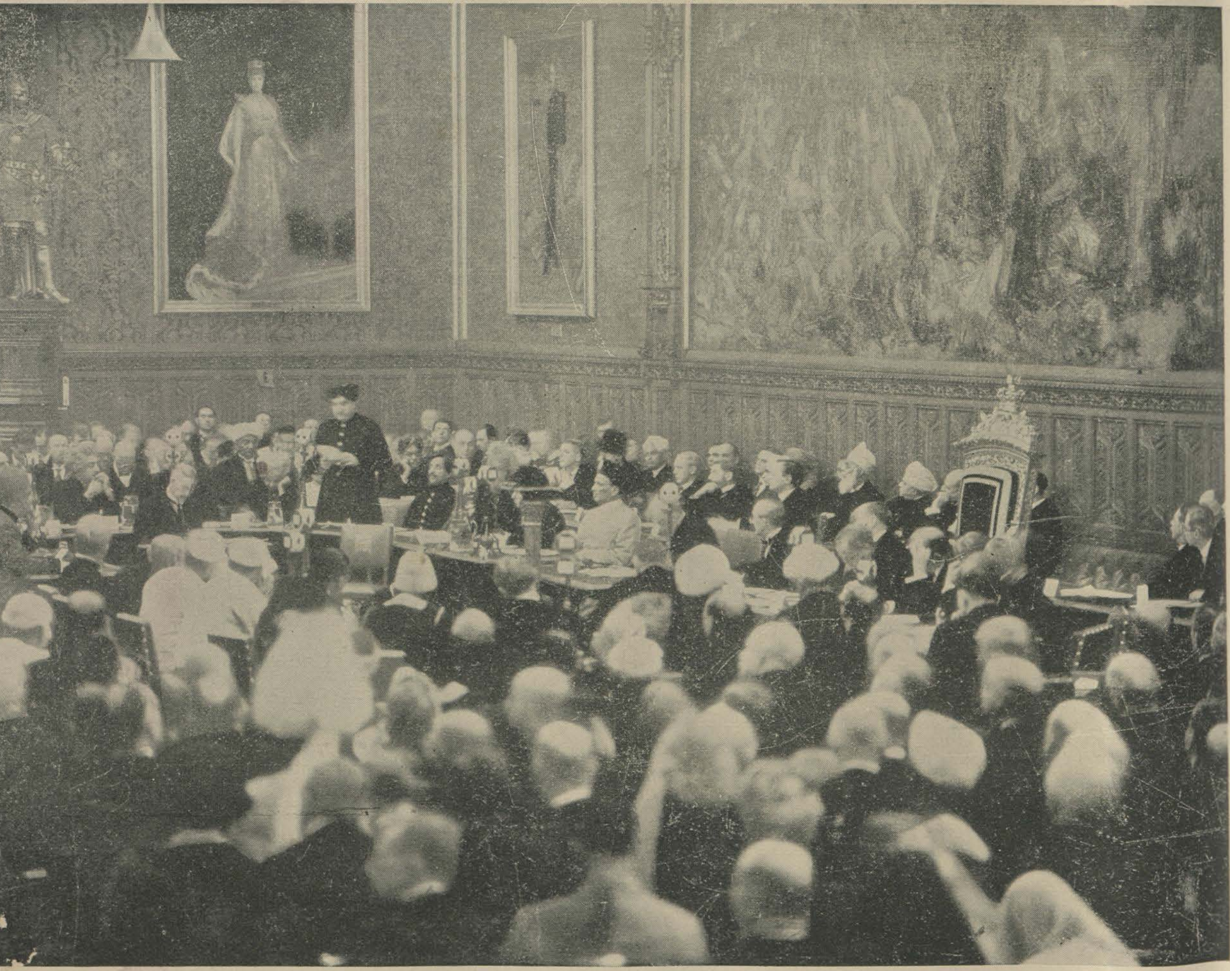
 

Raja Mahmudabad

Raja of Mahmudabad, father of the present Raja, was one of the earliest benefactors of the Muslim League, always evincing a live interest in the Muslim political movement. He was the first Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, and also acted for some time as a Minister in the United provinces. A close associate of Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, he founded many Muslim institutions and twice presided over the Annual sessions of the All-India Muslim League, in 1917 and 1928.

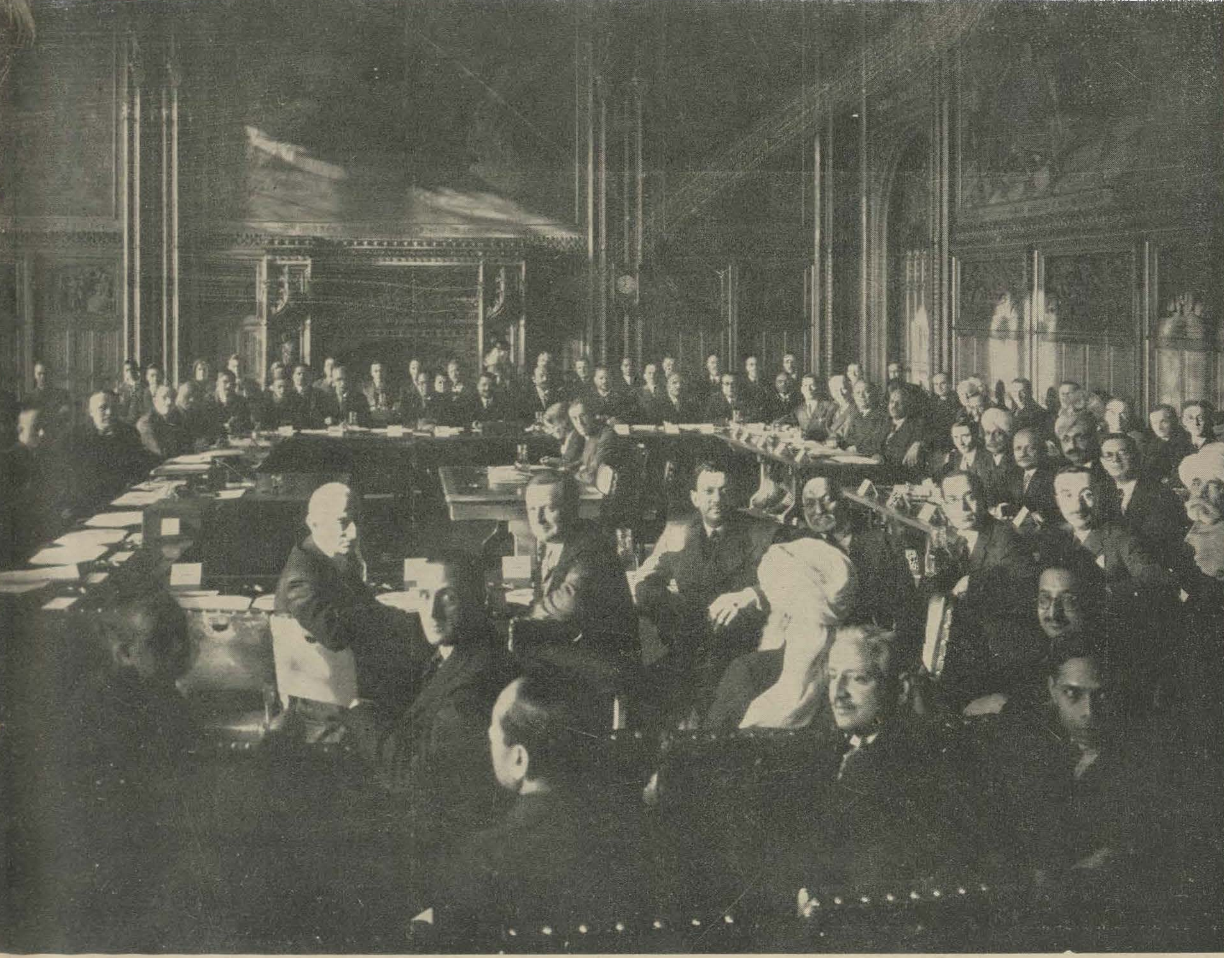
Haji Abdullah Haroon

A great Muslim philanthropist and a quiet, sincere worker, Haji Abdullah Haroon was President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. He was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1926, and took an active part in the move for the separation of Sind from Bombay. He was also the Chairman of the Foreign sub-committee of the All-India Muslim League.



Round Table Conference

The Round Table Conference was held to decide upon the Dominion Status for India and to determine its constitution. Jinnah and the Aga Khan were among those who attended. Prominent Hindu delegates and various rulers of important Indian states also participated. Though boycotted by the Congress, the first Conference achieved remarkable unanimity in its decisions. The question of an all-India Federation strongly supported by Jinnah was agreed to by all. It was proposed that the Federation of India should embrace both the Indian States and British India in a bicameral legislature. The range of Provincial subjects were to be so defined as to give the provinces greatest possible measure of self-government.



The first session of the Conference had started in London on 12th Nov., 1930, and continued for three months. The second session held the following year fared ill. Faced with Congress communalism, Mr. Jinnah demanded a complete recognition of the rights of minorities. Negotiations only aggravated the fears of minorities. Premier MacDonald gave out the assurance that if the communal problem was not settled by mutual agreement among the communities, his government would consider introducing provisions in the constitution to guard against the intransigence of the majority. He reaffirmed his government's adherence to the principle of responsible federal government and provincial autonomy.

The third and last session of the Conference held in November 1932 was important in that it was decided by His Majesty's Government to give the Muslims 33 1/3 per cent of the British Indian seats in the Central Legislature. It was also decided to constitute Sind into a separate province with *its* predominent Muslim population.

Thus the three sessions of the Round Table Conference ensured a growing recognition of the rights of the Muslims.



Begum Shahnawaz

Alone among Muslim women of the sub-continent she was chosen to represent the sub-continent at the first Round Table Conference in London in 1930. She has been Member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and Member of the All-India Muslim League Council. She took a leading part in the agitation against the Unionist Government of the Punjab in 1947. She was Member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and of the Basic Principles Committee.



Lady Haroon

A popular social worker and philanthropist, Lady Nusrat Haroon has carried on the cherished tradition of her late husband, Sir Abdullah Haroon, who donated generously for the uplift of the poor and the spreading of education among the masses. She continues to take a keen personal interest in the affairs of many educational institutions and welfare centres which have received valuable help and patronage.

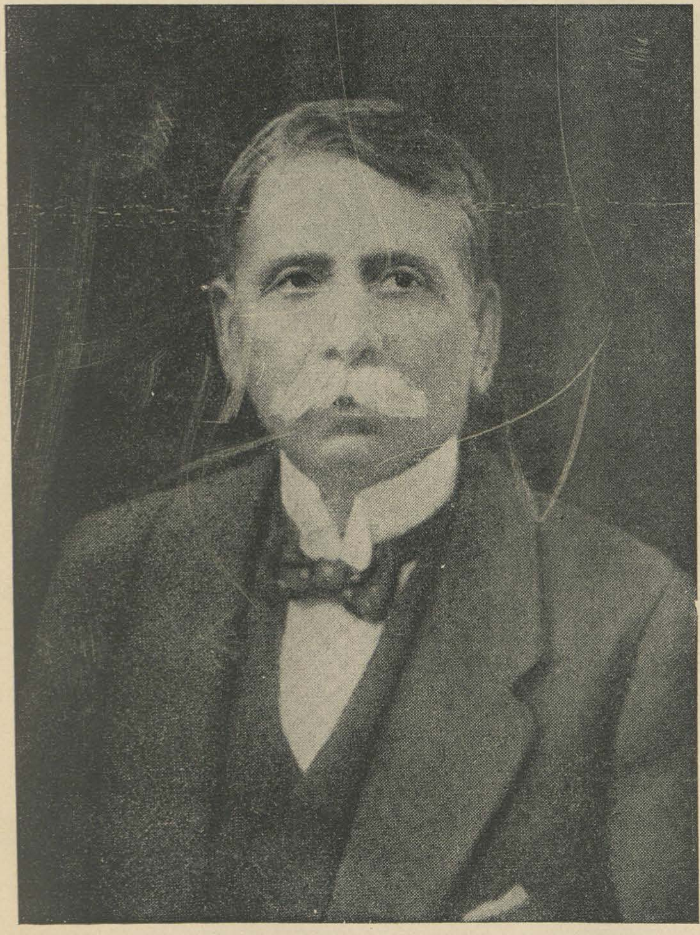
THE INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT

In the Muslim Renaissance the intellectual movement has been of no less importance than the political awakening. Beginning with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his school it spreads well over a span of a century. By his call for adjustment to the new political, intellectual and spiritual atmosphere, Sir Syed desired that the Muslims should partake of the general human progress as manifested lately in the West. The college he founded at Aligarh, and the Society he sponsored for translating great English works into Urdu, played no mean a role in giving a fillip to the Movement.

About this time Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1919) was writing his *Musaddas*, otherwise: An Elegy on the Rise and Fall of Islam. Such an enormous impact this single work has had over the Muslim spirits that for long it constituted an institution in itself. Dr. Nazir Ahmad (1836-1912), set an exemplary pattern for Muslim society and the day-to-day living through his remarkable novels.

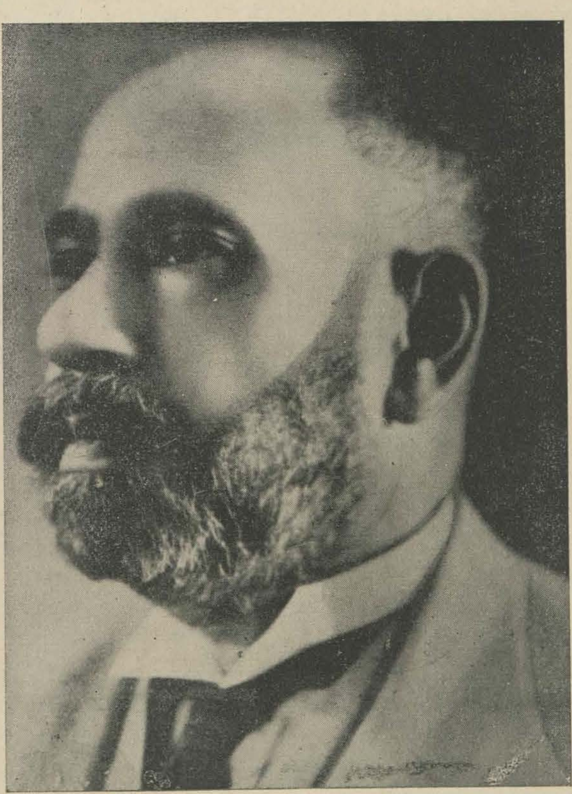
The glory of Islam was brought to life with unrivalled candour by the great scholar Syed Amir Ali (1849-1928) through his books *A History of the Saracens* and the *Spirit of Islam*, while Shibli Nomani (1857-1914) too contributed immensely by his critical studies. Later, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) did much to reclaim the Muslims to the true spirt of the Holy Quran.

The man who synthesized the modern and the orthodox trends of the Muslim intellectual movement with singular felicity was Allama Iqbal (1873-1938). From pantheism he came to believe in Islam as a social force transcending all barriers, geographical or otherwise. From mere nationalism he came to adopt Pan-Islamism as his creed, reinterpreting Islam as a dynamic rather than a static, a liberal rather than a reactionary force. He was the first who saw the vision of Pakistan distinctly and as such led the intellectual revolution that preceded the achievement of Pakistan. Another pillar of the intellectual movement has been the rebel-poet Nazrul Islam (b. 1889). His deeply patriotic poetry has inspired the masses of Bengal.



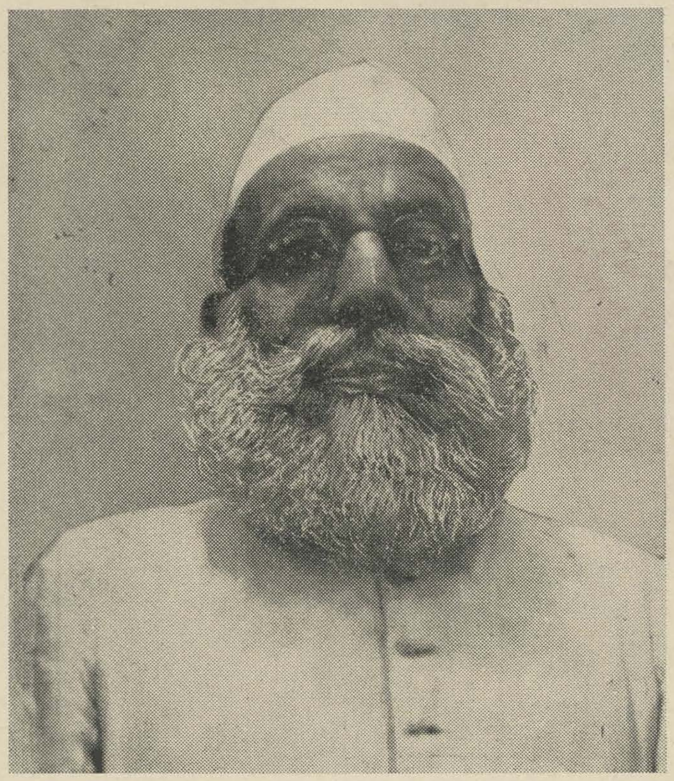
Syed Amir Ali

One of the most eminent historians and scholars of Islamic learning, Syed Amir Ali was born on April 6, 1849. In 1879, he founded the Central National Muhammadan Association, and in 1881 was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council and later to the Imperial Council. A jurist of international fame, he rose to be a Privy Councillor. But he was essentially a scholar and his fame rests on such monumental works as *The Spirit of Islam* and *A Short History of the Saracens*. Steeped in western thought and learning, he interpreted Islam as a progressive force, and his writings are permeated with high scholarship and a liberal outlook. He also organised the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League.



Sheikh Abdul Qadir

One of the most brilliant Muslim personalities from the Punjab, Sheikh Abdul Qadir started his career as a Barrister, and was elevated to the Bench of the Lahore High Court. Later he became a Minister of the Punjab Government, and represented India at the League of Nations. In 1926 he presided over the Delhi Session of the All-India Muslim League. He was the editor of *Makhzan*, the first Urdu literary journal of a high standard which published the contributions of the greatest Urdu writers of the time.



Hasrat Mohani

A poet-politician who spent the best part of his life in jail, Maulana Hasrat Mohani was Member of the Council of All-India Muslim League, and presided over the session of the League held in 1918. He was a sincere and selfless worker and lived a very simple life. As a lyric poet he ranked among the greatest in Urdu.



Dr. Muhammad Iqbal

Thinker, poet and philosopher, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal was a visionary who saw the establishment of Pakistan as a step not only towards the sovereignty and independence of a nation of eighty million people but also as part of a concerted move for the emancipation of Muslims all over the world. He was the first to give a concrete shape to the Muslim aspirations in the sub-continent for a separate homeland and defined its geographical boundaries as clearly and unambiguously as it could be possible, far back in the year 1930. In his Presidential address at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, held that year at Allahabad, he boldly asserted the Muslim demand for 'the creation of a Muslim India within India', and added: "I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State."

"The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries," he asserted, and pointed out that the Muslim demand 'is actuated by a genuine desire for free development which is practically impossible under the type of unitary Government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to securing permanent communal dominance in the whole of India.' "The formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State," he added, "appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least to North-West India."

It was Iqbal's fervent appeal which persuaded the Quaid-i-Azam in 1934 to return to politics, and it was in his letters to the Quaid-i-Azam during the last years of his life in 1936 and 1937, that he elaborated his scheme in its political as well as cultural context. He succeeded in convincing the Quaid-i-Azam that Pakistan was the only solution of the political problem of the Muslims and it was on the foundations laid by Iqbal that the Muslim League's historic Pakistan Resolution of 1940 was based.

Thus Iqbal gave the blue-print for Pakistan. However, the role he played in promoting an intellectual revolution among Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is even more important. He was a profound thinker who believed in dynamism, and throughout his poetry and prose he placed the greatest emphasis on action, interpreting it as movement. His philosophy found poetical expression in its maturest form in *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of the Self) and *Rumooz-i-Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness or Non-Ego). In 1928-29, he also delivered a series of lectures on "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" in which he made a bold attempt to 'reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in various domains of human knowledge.'



Delegates who attended the Muslim Leaders' Conference held at Delhi in December, 1927

Muslim Leaders' Conference

A conference of Muslim leaders was held in Delhi in December, 1927, under the presidentship of the Aga Khan. This Conference discussed the electorate formula and drafted the famous 'Thirteen points'—to which was later added the Fourteenth by the Quaid-i-Azam.

Dr. Allama Iqbal was among those who attended.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE

(Second Phase)

With the vision of a separate homeland for themselves rising on the horizon, making the Hindus in the process their chief combatants in place of the British, the second phase of the constitutional struggle of the Muslims of the sub-continent began. The British, on their part came to accept the fact that the sub-continent would have to be granted sovereignty, they would or no.

Continuing its struggle for independence, the Muslim League rejected the All-India federation proposal because it knew that an oppressive Hindu domination would be the outcome. The 27-month rule of Congress Government in seven provinces (under the 1935 Act) confirmed their fears. The Quaid-i-Azam, however, continued efforts to cement Muslim-Hindu relations by negotiations with Gandhi and Nehru, but to no avail. The historic Pakistan Resolution was passed by the 100,000 members attending the Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League on March 23, 1940. From then on all attempts of the Congress to come to terms with the League on the one-nation theory were repulsed by the latter. The British soon took cognizance of the growing power that was Muslim League and thought it incumbent to consider its demands. The English Parliamentary delegation that toured the sub-continent in 1946 testified to the authorities the genuineness of the demand of Pakistan. It was followed by the Cabinet Mission which suggested the setting up of two separate constitution-making bodies, one each for the Hindu and Muslim majority Provinces, and also the formation of an interim government at the Centre consisting of fourteen members, five each from the League and the Congress, and four from other communities. The Congress protested vehemently against parity with the League, but later had to agree. It continued to make all-out efforts to curb the Muslim demands, but failed. Ultimately, after ensuring the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, the Hindu leaders reconciled to the demand for Pakistan at a meeting with the League and Sikh leaders on June 3, 1947. The Independence Bill was passed in the following month bythe British Parliament, and, finally, Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah

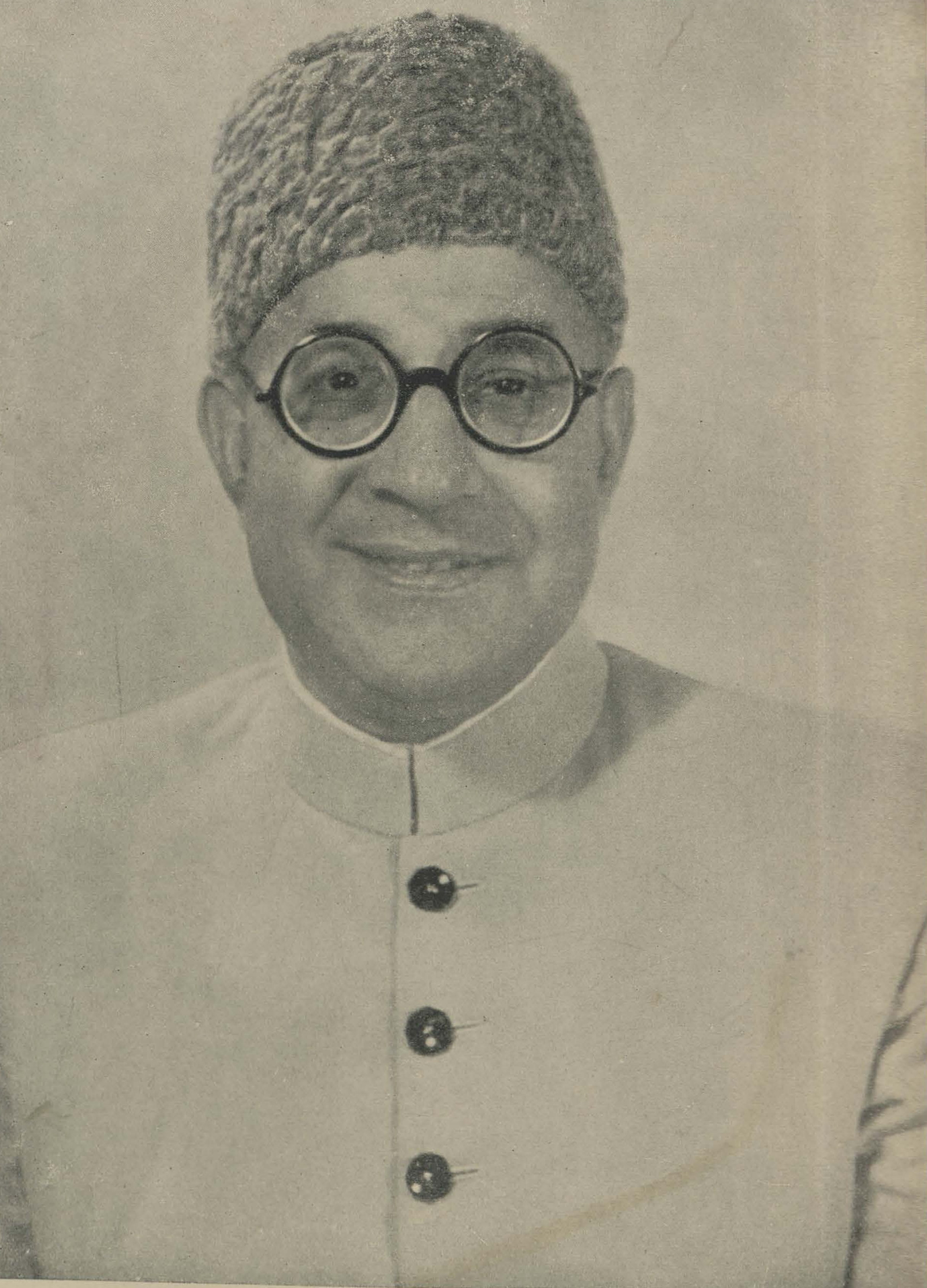
The founder of Pakistan and the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah, was born on 25th December, 1876, in the city of Karachi, today the Federal Capital of this new State. From his very childhood, young Jinnah developed the habit of stern independence and self-reliance. In 1892, he was called to the Bar at the very early age of 16. He stayed for four years in England and on his return, started his practice in Bombay. The early period was spent in hard and constant labour. However he soon came to be looked upon not only as a brilliant lawyer, but also as a man of great integrity and character. He was soon elected to the Imperial Council where he moved the famous Muslim Wakfs Bill—the first instance of a Bill passing into legislation on the motion of a private Member.

A lover of freedom and a great patriot, Mr. Jinnah began by accommodating the Congress point of view, and was called the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" when he brought about a rapproachment between the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 (this photograph was taken the same year). He soon felt, however, that the Congress was merely a camouflage for consolidating Hindu India at the expense of Muslims, and it was at the London meetings of the Round Table Conference during 1930-32 that he received the shock of his life. "In the face of danger," he said, "the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity."

Mr. Jinnah returned from England in 1934, and set to galvanising the Muslim League into a most dynamic organisation. "We are a nation," he asserted, "with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, custom and calendar, history and tradition, aptitude and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation."

In subsequent years, Mr. Jinnah, popularly known by the title "Quaid-i-Azam" (the Great Leader), came to symbolise the Muslim aspirations for a separate independent homeland, and in 1940 the Muslim League, under his inspiring leadership, demanded that India should be partitioned and the Muslim majority areas should constitute the sovereign, independent State of Pakistan. It was his ardent advocacy and unbending character, his unshakable determination and his power of persuasion that brought about the successful fruition of the Muslim struggle in the shape of Pakistan. "Character, courage, industry and perseverance," he had said, "are the four pillars on which the whole edifice of human life can be built, and failure is a word unknown to me."





Liaquat Ali Khan

A close asscciate and confidant of the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was elected General-Secretary of the Muslim League in 1936, and continued to look after its organisational side ever since. A shrewd politician and a clever strategist, he translated Quaid-i-Azam's words into action, and planned the execution of the League's policy and programme, working out the minutest detail and co-ordinating its activities in various spheres and at all levels.

Born in Karnal in 1895, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was educated at Aligarh, at Allahabad University, and at Exeter College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar from Inner Temple, London.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan started his political career in 1923 when he joined the Muslim League and was soon elected, first to the U.P. Provincial Legislature and then to the Central Legislative Assembly, where he rose to be the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party.

In 1946, when an Interim Coalition Government was formed at the Centre, he became its first Finance Minister. He was a member of the Muslim League Delegation to Simla Conference in 1945 and later accompanied the Quaid-i-Azam to the London discussions in 1946. On 14th August, 1947, he became Pakistan's Prime Minister. He died at the hands of an assassin in Rawalpindi, on 16th October 1951.



Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League—1937

Raja of Mahmudabad.



It was for the first time at this session that the All-India Muslim League became a mass organization and opened its membership to all Muslims who had attained the age of 18. It was here also that the All-India Muslim League changed its creed and decided to demand full independence. The League also decided on its party flag and chalked out a programme of re-vitalising the Organization and enlisting more members from amongst the masses.

The young Raja of Mahmudabad, who attended this session of the League, took a leading part in organizing the League and donated a large sum for this purpose. He was a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and also the President of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation.

Pakistan Session of the Muslim League at Lahore, 1940

This session of the All-India Muslim League is of the greatest historical importance, for it was here that the Pakistan Resolution was moved and passed. The session met at a very opportune moment. The British Government had declared that the policy underlying the Government of India Act 1935 was to be revised. The Federal Scheme of this Act had already been suspended, and in any future constitution, the views of Muslim India were to be taken into consideration. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that Muslims expressed their views regarding the kind of constitution they would like to have, and the result was the Lahore Resolution which envisaged Muslim majority areas in the North-Western and Eastern zones of the sub-continent to be so grouped as to constitute an independent state in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

The text of the Resolution ran as follows:

"That it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, *viz.*, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

"That this session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."



A view of the mammoth crowd of half
beloved leader on the occassion of the Pakis

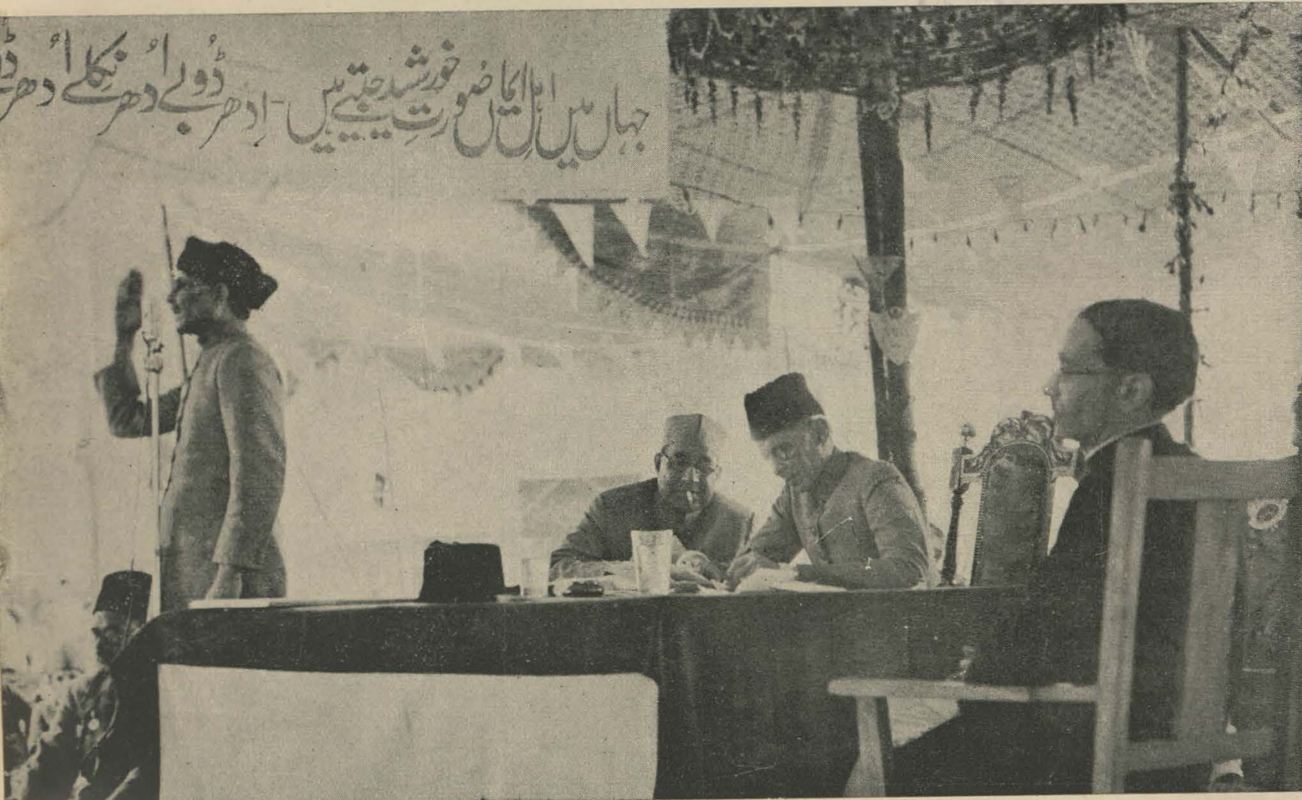


men and women who assembled to hear their
n of the Muslim League held at Lahore in 1940.



Flag Hoisting at the Pakistan Session

Muslim delegates from all over the country flocked in thousands to participate in this momentous session of the Muslim League. On the eve of the session at Lahore, the Quaid-i-Azam unfurled the Muslim League flag amidst thunderous cheers. "I want you to realise the value, the importance, the significance of organizing yourselves," he emphasised in his deep, impressive voice, adding: "I will not say anything more on the subject."



Choudhry Khaliquzzaman speaking at the Pakistan Session of the Muslim League on March 22, 1940. Mr. Liaquat Ali and Mian Bashir Ahmed are sitting on the right and left of the Quaid-i-Azam who is presiding.

Speeches on the Resolution

Eminent leaders of the Muslims spoke at length upon the Resolution, explaining its import in detail, while a 100,000 strong audience listened in rapt attention signifying approval and admiration. Thus the principle of establishing a separate homeland for the Muslims as the only solution for the sub-continent's political and social problems at last came to be recognized.

In commemoration of the importance of the day, Pakistan was declared an Islamic republic sixteen years later, on March 23, 1956.



A. K. Fazlul Huq

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, at present Governor of East Pakistan, was bron in 1873. He studied at the Calcutta University. He was elected in 1936 to the Indian Legislative Assembly. He served as the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Secretary, and later became the President of the All-India Muslim League. He was one of the signatories to the Lucknow Pact. In 1927, he founded the Krishak Proja Party. He was elected as the Mayor of Calcutta in 1935. Later he became Chief Minister of the Province. He was the leader of the Opposition in the Bengal Assembly during the Nazimuddin Ministry. After Independence, Mr. Fazlul Huq was appointed Advocate-General, Government of East Bengal, which post he resigned a few months before the 1954 elections. He resigned from the Muslim League in 1953 and formed the Krishak Sramik Party. He was elected to the East Bengal Legislative Assembly from two constituencies in 1954. He was acclaimed as the leader of the United Front Party soon after and formed the United Front Ministry on April 2, 1954. That Ministry was removed from office on May 29, 1954. He was also Central Minister of Interior in the Mohammad Ali Cabinet.



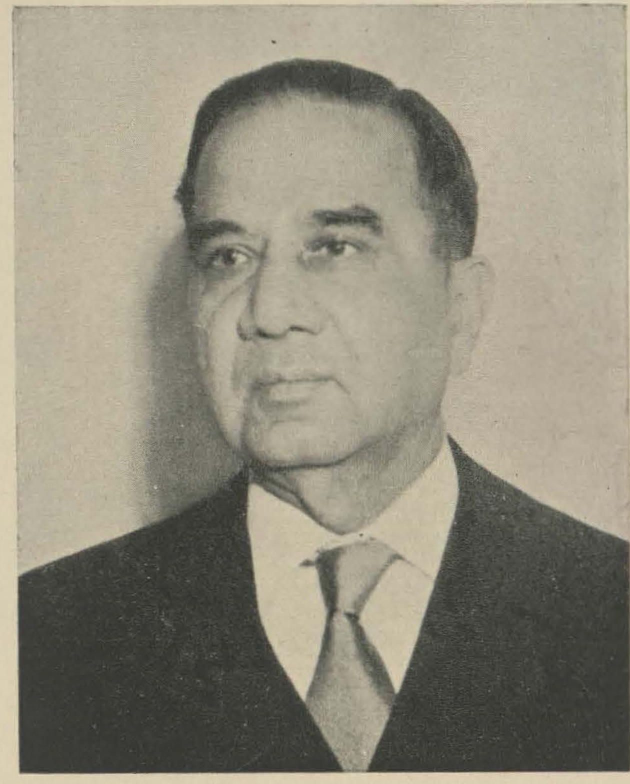
Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan

A highly respected politician, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan has been the President of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League, Chairman of the League's Committee of Action, and a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. Now living a retired life, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan has for many years represented the Muslims in the Central Assembly and in the U.P. Provincial Assembly.



Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung

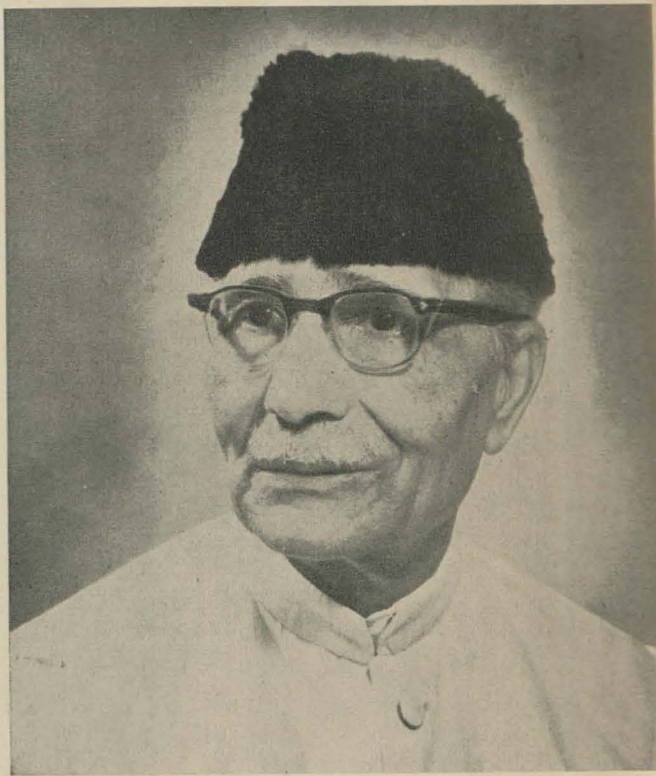
Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung was one of the greatest speakers produced by Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. People flocked in hundreds of thousands to hear him, and his eloquence moved the hearts of millions. He organised the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen in the Hyderabad State. He was also President of the All-India States' Muslim League and did much to popularise Muslim League in the sates. A selfless and sincere worker, he gave up his title and *jagir* but would not submit to the Imperial dictates. He died of heart-failure at a young age and his loss was felt and mourned by the Muslim nation as an irreparable one.



H. S. Suhrawardy

Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, the leader of the Awami League Party, was born in Midnapur in 1893. After graduating from St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, he obtained his M.A., B.C.L. degrees from Oxford, and was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn. During the Khilafat Movement he was Secretary of the Khilafat Committee. He also held the office of the Deputy Mayor of Calcutta Corporation. He was an elected member of the Bengal Legislative Council from 1921 to 1947. He served in the undivided Bengal Cabinet as Minister of Commerce, Labour, Finance, Public Health, Local Self-Government, Rural Reconstruction and Food, and in 1946 was made the Chief Minister of undivided Bengal. He was Minister for Law in the Central Cabinet for some time in 1954-55 and then became Leader of the Opposition. He was Prime Minister of Pakistan from September 1956 to October 1957.



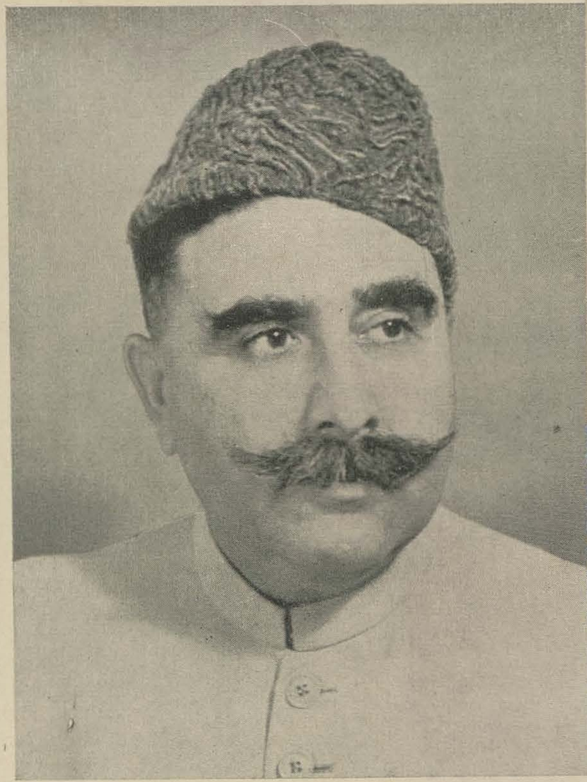


Khwaja Nazimuddin

A senior Muslim politician, Khwaja Nazimuddin has been a member of the Muslim League Working Committee. He has had a sincere career as the Chief Minister of pre-Independence Bengal, and leader of the Muslim League delegation sent to the U.S.A. He was the first chief Minister of East Bengal, and later succeeded the Quaid-i-Azam as the Governor-General of Pakistan. After the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, he became the Prime Minister of Pakistan which office he held until April, 1953.

Choudhury Khaliquzzaman

Born in the United Provinces in 1889, Choudhury Khaliquzzaman has been a very active political leader of Muslim League. He graduated from the Aligarh University, and practised at the Lucknow High Court. He acted as the Leader of the Muslim League Party in the U.P. Province Assembly for 10 years from 1937 and served as a member of the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board from 1943 to 1947. He was elected as the first President of the Pakistan Muslim League in 1948 and served as the Governor of East Bengal in 1953 and 1954. He was also for some time Ambassador for Pakistan in Indonesia and Philippines.

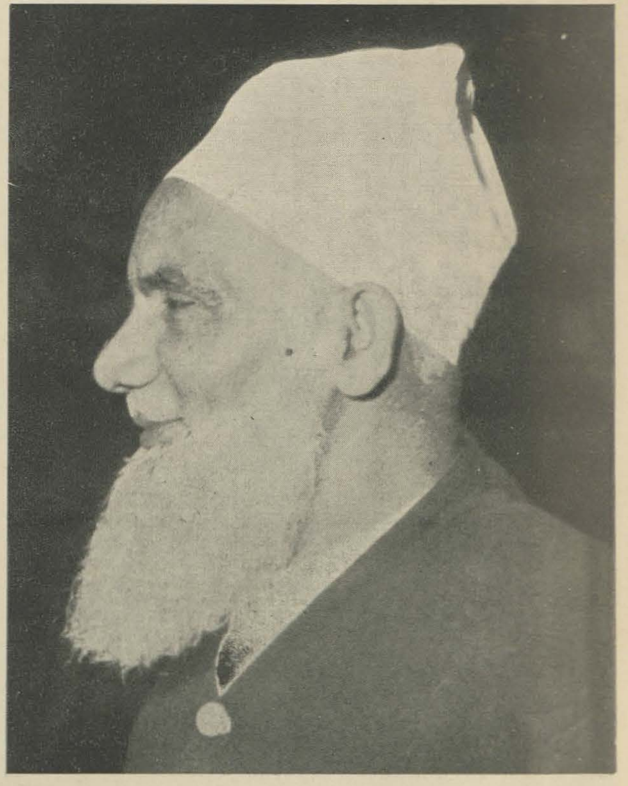
 

Ghulam Husain Hydayatullah

A distinguished Muslim statesman from Sind, Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah was an enthusiastic League worker and Member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. He rose to be the Chief Minister of the Province of Sind before Independence and became the first Governor of his Province on the establishment of Pakistan.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar

One of the three Muslim League members nominated by the Quaid-i-Azam for the interim Cabinet of the British Indian Empire in 1946, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar had been Member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and was one of the members of the Muslim League Delegation of Simla Conference in 1945. He has also been the Member of the Muslim League Working Committee, and on the establishment of Pakistan became a Minister in the Central Government. He served a term as Governor of the Punjab, and later became President of the Pakistan Muslim League. He died recently, in Feb., 1958.



Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani

Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani was one of the few eminent Muslim scholars. He took an active part in the freedom struggle of Muslims in the sub-continent and co-operated with the Muslim League.

The Maulana was born probably in 1890. He studied in Darul-Ulum, Deoband, and at a very early age became fully conversant with Islam and its true meaning. He was given the honoured place of a teacher at this Muslim institution. After teaching for several years at Dar-ul-Ulum he went to Dhabail in Surat where he set up a Madrassa. The Madrassa at Dhabail imparted religious teachings to Muslims.

He was elected member of Indian Parliament before Independence. Afterwards he was also taken in as member of Pakistan Parliament. In Pakistan Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani actively associated with a number of organisations. He breathed his last on 13th December, 1951.



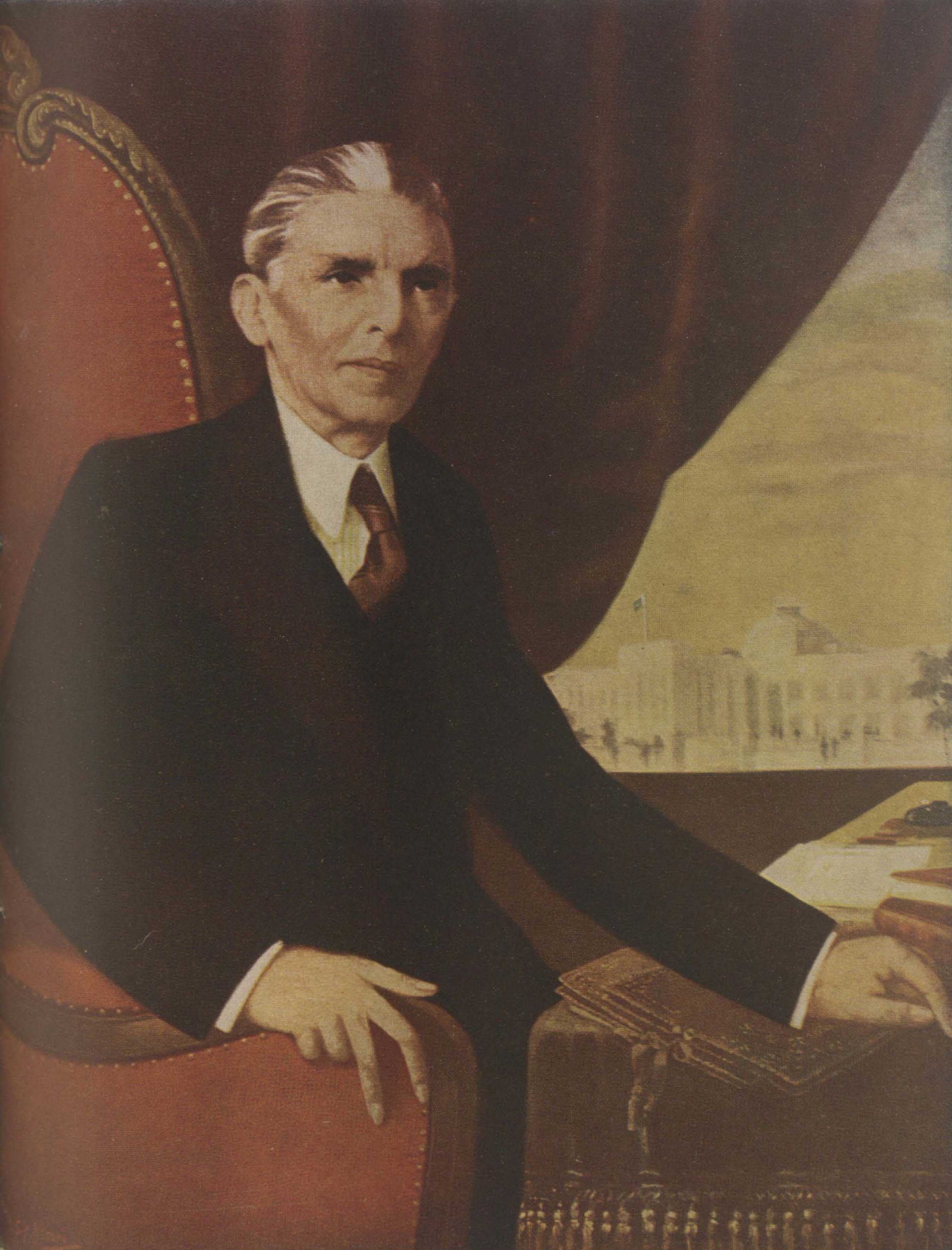
Begum Shamsunnihar Mahmood

An outstanding woman writer and social worker from East Pakistan, Begum Shamsunnihar Mahmood has a dynamic personality and has been one of the most active members of the Council of All-India Muslim League. She has rendered valuable service to the cause of education of Muslim women.



Fatima Begum

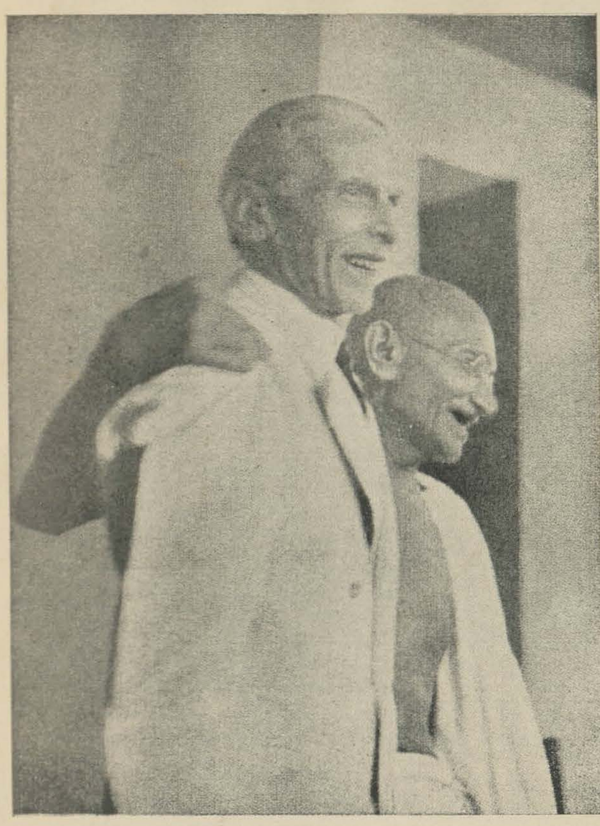
Member of the All-India Muslim League Council and the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Fatima Begum founded a Girls' College in the Punjab, and took a prominent part in spreading education among women. She led huge processions during the Punjab Women's Movement in 1947 and organised relief for those wounded and arrested.





The League and the Congress

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, was one of the first in the Congress camp to be convinced that the Muslim League had a case for Pakistan. He himself pleaded on various occasions for a more realistic attitude to be adopted towards the Muslim right of self-determination, and he took the opportunity of the Quaid-i-Azam's stay in Simla to find a way out of the political impasse.



Jinnah-Gandhi Talks

As the Muslim League grew in popularity and became the sole representative body of the Muslims, the opposition of the Congress became more vocal. Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi met several times in September, 1944, to discuss the future constitutional set-up of the country and to evolve the basis of a Muslim State (Pakistan) in which the Muslims might excercise their right of self-determination. Unfortunately the meetings only emphasised beyond any shadow of doubt, the wide gulf which divided the two political ideologies, and the two great leaders parted without arriving at any tangible decision.



Talks with Cabinet Mission

After the failure of Lord Wavell's efforts, a Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Sir Alfred Alexander came to India on March 23, 1946, to continue discussions on the Indian constitutional tangle. It recommended a division of the sub-continent into three zones with a weak Centre. This would have conceded the substance of Pakistan, but due to the haggling and the mental reservations of the Congress about Assam, the pressure of the Muslim public opinion went against the Cabinet Mission proposals.



[*Continued*

The disucssions with Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy took place both in Delhi and in Simla. The Mission also entered into a lengthy correspondence with the Quaid-i-Azam, who firmly reiterated the Muslim demand for Pakistan as the basis of any future negotiations. The Muslim League was fully justified in making this demand, since it was on the Pakistan issue that it had won the 1946 Elections with such overwhelming majority.



Talks with Congress Leaders

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, both as the Congress President and one of the chief architects of Congress policies, had several meetings with the Quaid-i-Azam. An important meeting between him and the Quaid-i-Azam (of which the above photograph is a reminder) took place at the latter's residence in Simla on May 11, 1946, during the Tripartite Conference convened by the Cabinet Mission.



Quaid-i-Azam with Sir Stafford Cripps

In March 1942, the British Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps to carry on delicate negotiations with Indian leaders. The Muslim League was represented by Mr. Jinnah who demanded an unequivocal declaration from the British Government about Pakistan. He laid special emphasis on the recognition of the Muslim League as the sole arbiter of the Muslims in the sub-continent and made it plain to him that no constitutional progress would be possible without the support of the Muslim League.

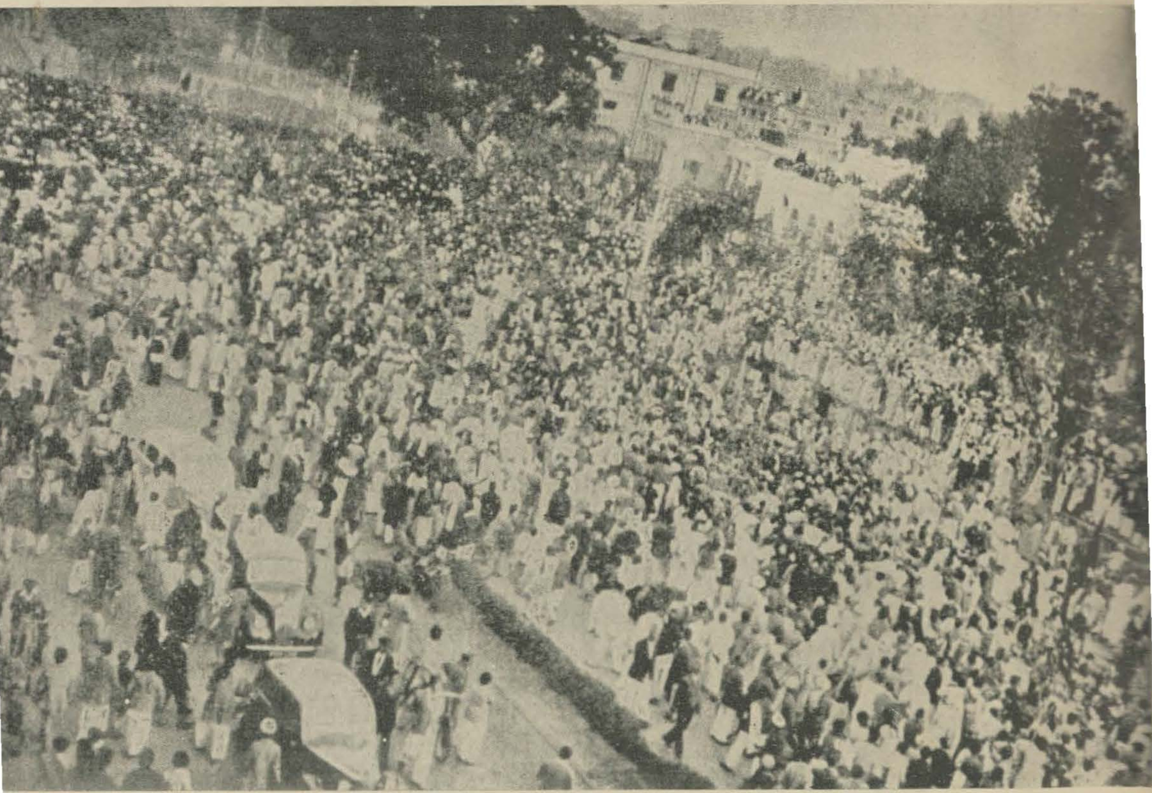


Demonstration by Women outside the Secretariat

An important event of 1946 was the compaign against the pro-Congress Government of Khizar Hayat Khan. The women of the Punjab organized themselves in every nook and

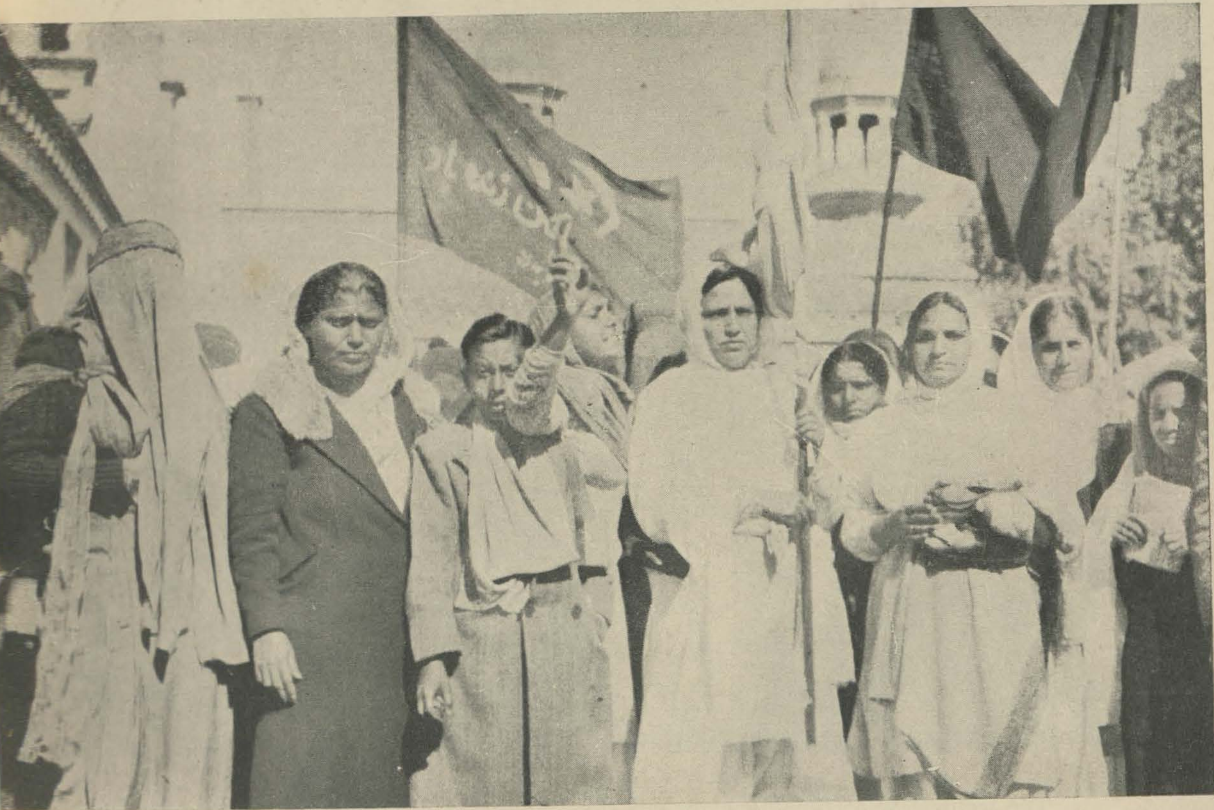


corner against tbe Khizar Government. Here they are seen demonstrating against the Khizar Government outside the Punjab Government Secretariat.



Revolution in the Punjab

In the 1946 Elections in various provinces of the sub-continent, the Muslim League Party in the Punjab was returned by a thumping majority, but the British Governor of the Punjab, instead of calling upon the Muslim League Party to form the Government, asked the Unionist landlord leader, Khizar Hayat Khan, to form a Coalition Government with the Hindu and Sikh members of the Assembly. The Muslims of the Punjab were greatly agitated and a mass movement started with the arrest of Muslim League leaders by the Unionist Government on 24th January 1947. "We are courting arrest", declared the Khan of Mamdot, "to vindicate civic liberties in the Punjab, where an unrepresentative Ministry, in order to keep itself in power, is resorting to most objectionable methods to gag popular liberties."



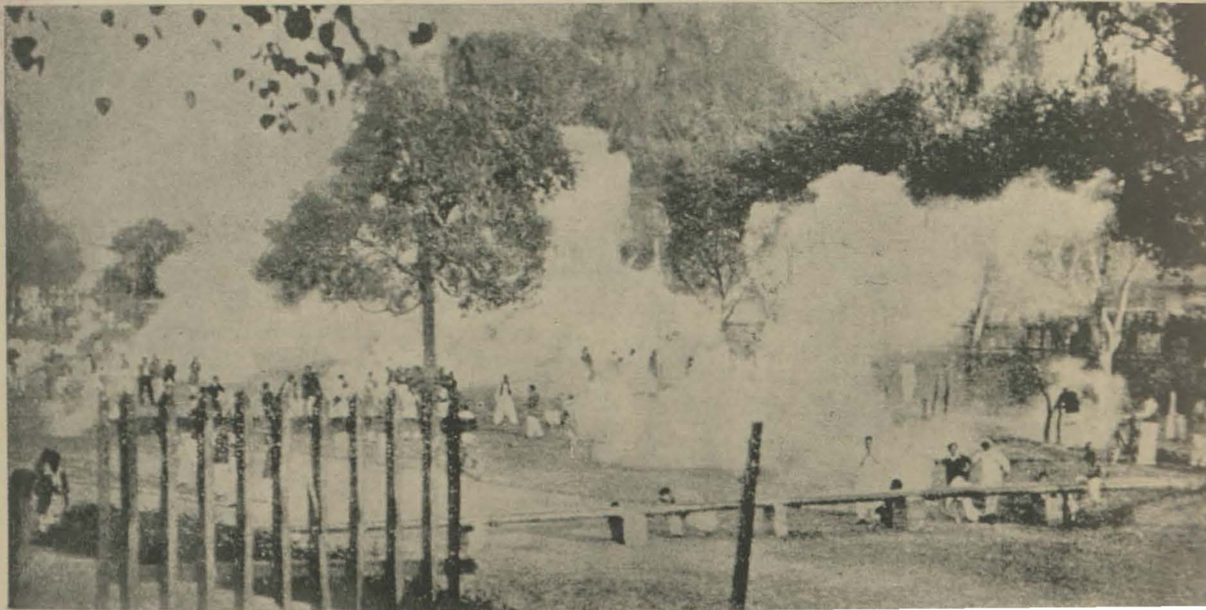
Women Demonstrators outside Lahore High Court

Women in the Punjab took a very prominent part in the movement launched against the Khizar Government. Their processions were tear-gassed and many of them suffered imprisonment for defying bans. It was for the first time that the women in hundreds of thousands came out to assert their political rights and to fight for freedom shoulder to shoulder with their brethren. Within a fortnight more than 13,000 Muslim Leaguers courted arrest and the movement spread far and wide, even to remote villages of the Punjab. Police opened fire on processions and troops had to be called in to deal with the situation.



Processionists Tear-Gassed by Police

The feelings were running high and the enthusiasm of League demonstrators could not be curbed even with large-scale tear-gassing. Bomb after bomb of tear-gas exploded but the spirit of the patriotic men and women remained undaunted.





Women's Demonstration before Jail

Women also picketed and demonstrated in front of the Women's Jail where so many of their political co-workers were imprisoned, and for a while it seemed as if the entire administration was paralysed. They made it impossible for the reactionary and unrepresentative Khizar Government to remain in office.



On to Victory

The will of the people prevailed in the end. The Khizar Government had to surrender. The efforts and sacrifices of millions of men and women were crowned with success and the arrested Muslim League leaders and workers, men as well as women, were unconditionally released.



League Leaders Released

On 2nd March, 1947, after days of intense agitation, the Khizar Government tendered resignation and went out of office.

Earlier, on 26th February, all Muslim Leaguers arrested in this connection, were released (above photo).



The Girl who Hoisted League Flag on the Punjab Secretariat

It should have needed more than a woman's heart to muster up courage in the face of great peril and to hoist the Muslim League flag on the Government Secretariat in order to show to the world that love for the cause of freedom is greater than love for life itself. This young girl received many injuries but finally succeeded in hoisting the flag there as the symbol of the fulfilment of Muslim aspirations.



Miss Fatima Jinnah

Youngest sister of the Quaid-i-Azam, Miss Fatima Jinnah received her early education and training under the care and guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam himself. Throughout those critical years of stress and strain she looked after her brother as a national trust. She has devoted her life to the educational and social uplift of Muslim women. She has been the President of the women's organisation of the All-India Muslim League and is placed in the highest esteem by her countrymen today.



Begum Hidayatullah



Begum Tasadduq Husain

Among the first who heralded the emancipation of women is Begum Hidayatullah. She has been an active political worker throughout.

A good many of the abducted women in the upheaval of 1947 owe their recovery to the laudatory efforts of Begum Salma Tasadduq Husain. She has been a prominent social worker. She and Begum Hidayatullah played an active role in the successful struggle of 1947 against the Hindu-Unionist regime in the Punjab.



Begum Ikramullah



Begum Noon

Begum Shaista Ikramullah, wife of the present High Commissioner for Pakistan in Britain, has always been active in the uplift of Muslim women. Her short stories and other writings are very illuminating. She was a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. She organised the Muslim Girl Students' Federation. She was also member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

Begum Feroz Khan Noon, wife of the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, has for long been associated with social and cultural activities of the Muslims. She is a prominent member of the All-Pakistan Women's Organisation.



Begum Liaquat Ali Khan

Wife of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan is a brilliant orator and an active social worker. As the founder and President of the All-Pakistan Women's Association, she has rendered valuable services to the cause of Muslim women. She also organised Pakistan Women's National Guard. At present she is Ambassador for Pakistan in Netherlands.

THE TRIPARTITE TALKS (1946)

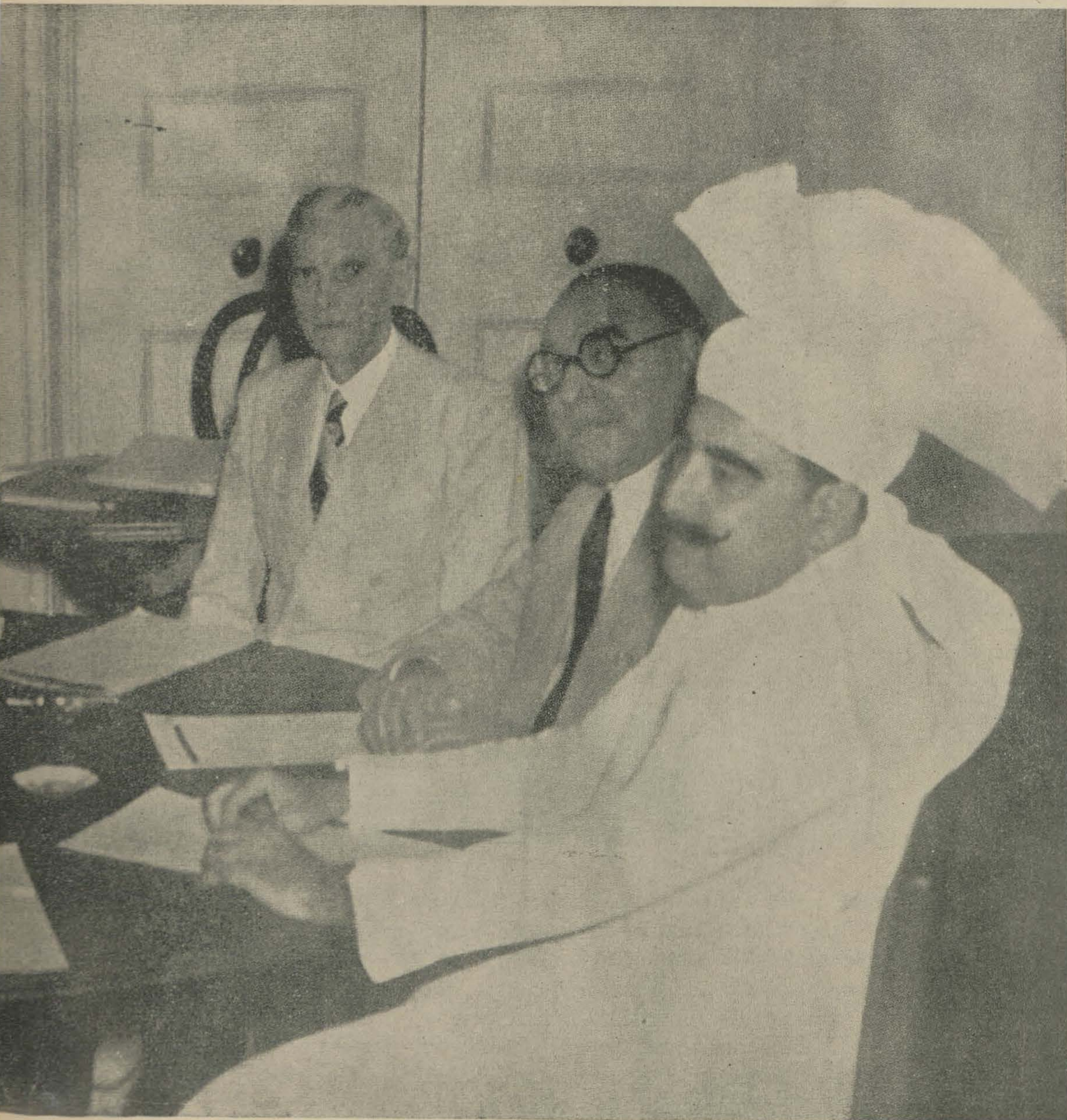
The year 1946 saw the idea of Pakistan taking a definite shape, though a formal acceptance thereof came only a year later.

On the return of the Parliamentary delegation the British Government sent out a Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A.V. Alexander to discuss with the Viceroy and the local leaders the framing of a new Constitution for the sub-continent. After due consultations the Mission proposed the formation of a Union of the sub-continent, includingboth British India and the Indian States, formation of three separate provinces with a Constituent Assembly in the centre and the setting up of an interim government at the Centre. The Union of India was proposed to deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, the residuary powers were to go to the provinces. The three proposed provinces were to comprise the six-Hindu majority provinces (United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras), the Muslim majority provinces in the North-West(the N.-W.F.P., the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan) and, again, the Muslim majority provinces in the North-East (Bengal and Assam). It was obvious that the British were averse to conceding the League demand of Pakistan and were trying to strike a bargain short of it. The proposal of the interim government envisaged nomination of 14 local persons for membership of the Executive Council in the ratio of 5:5:4 for the Congress, League and minority candidates respectively. The Muslim League accepted all the proposals, but the Congress objected to the last one. It claimed more seats. Thereupon the Governor appointed a Care-taker Government which, after some time, gave place to the interim Congress Government, the League refusing to join hands on 6:5:3 ratio. A month later, however, the League agreed to co-operate and, receiving the portfolios of Finance, Commerce, Ports and Air, Health and Legislative Departments, set to work in right earnest for running the country's administration.



Tripartite Talks with Lord Mountbatten

After the failure of the Cabinet Mission Plan, Lord Mountbatten was appointed as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and he came to this sub-continent with certain



proposals on behalf of His Majesty's Government. A conference of the leaders of various parties was called to find a way out of the political deadlock.



Negotiations in London

Muslim League was soon confirmed in its apprehensions. The interim government only served to bring out the domineering attitude of the Congress. Further, the latter started making difficulties about the interpretation of certain clauses in the Mission Proposals. League decided to stay out of the Constituent Assembly. The decision roused the British. Representatives of the parties were invited to London for negotiations. The negotiations largely failed owing to the adamant attitude of the Congress. Sir Pethick Lawrence vindicated Jinnah's stand over the contended clauses of the Mission Plan, yet Nehrudid not acquiesce in. League became further confirmed in its view that hope for any agreement with the Congress was futile, and that the salvation of the Muslims of the sub-continent lay only in the formation of a separate state for themselves.



June 3 Broadcast of the Quaid-i-Azam

As a result of the Mountbatten Plan and the discussions of various political parties, the British Government accepted the principle of the partition of the sub-continent into two sovereign and independent states of Pakistan and India. Thus Pakistan was achieved. Lord Louis Mountbatten announced the Plan in a Broadcast on th 3rd of June 1947. Quaid-i-Azam on that occasion addressed the Muslim nation, and recommended the acceptance of the June 3 Plan, subject to the decision of the Muslim League Council, which later met and confirmed acceptance.



Birth of Pakistan

On 14th August 1947, after nearly a century of heroic struggle and ceaseless effort, the new State of Pakistan came into being as an independent homeland for eighty million people—the largest Muslim State and the fifth largest in the world. The last British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, was personally present at the Transfer of Power ceremony in Karachi on that memorable occasion.



Displaced Persons

On the eve of Independence, Pakistan was confronted with the problem of refugee influx from across the border. Tens of thousands of Muslims were harassed out of their hearths in India into the homeland they had carved out for themselves. Communal riots in various parts of the sub-continent made them panicky. All roads led to Pakistan.



Faced with the gigantic problem of providing relife and rehabilitation to millions a ta time, the Central and Provincial Governments of Pakistan got busy. Transport, shelter, food, employment health, sanitation and such-like were the provisions to be made. Lands, shops and houses were allotted. *Taccavi* loans were granted and camps for work and training centres were started to teach crafts and vocations. Such harsh are the Evacuee Laws of the neighbouring country that even to date Muslims have not ceased trekking across to this side of the boundary line. Every tenth Pakistani today is a refugee.



The problem is not all solved yet. Rehabilitation work still continues, and the refugees find their moorings as they come in. Having lost much, they nevertheless have faith in the Pakistan they have helped make.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Speech made before Lord Ripon in the Viceroy's Council on 12th January, 1883, by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

In borrowing representative institutions from England, it is well to bear in mind those social and political realities which distinguish that country from ours—India is actually a continent, and is inhabited by peoples of many different races and religions. The tyranny of religious customs has kept even neighbours apart. The caste system continues to flourish everywhere. Even in one small district you will find many communities, religious or racial, some of which are rich and successful merchants, and others men of learning and status. Again, one group may be larger in number and far more advanced than other groups. One group may be fully conscious of the importance of suitable representation in local boards and districts; and another group may be completely heedless in this respect. It is, therefore, undeniable that the introduction of representative institutions in India will give rise to many difficulties and even social and political dangers. In a country like England, where racial distinctions no longer exist, and where religious differences have greatly decreased due to the spirit of tolerance, no such difficulties will arise. Racial and religious harmony has given birth to a nation in England; and the spread of education has reduced minor differences there were in matters that pertain to common weal. Christians do not hesitate to elect even jews to be their spokesmen in the Parliament. In short, politically and socially, the people of England are one nation.

But in a country like India, where differences of caste still exist, where the different races remain unmingled, where religious differences still persist and flourish, and where education in the modern sense has not spread equally in all the communities, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of elections in their simple and unqualified form for the purpose of constituting local boards and district councils, will lead to many serious ills, rather than cultural advance. As long as racial and religious differences continue to be a marked

feature of the political and social life of India, and as long as this continues to influence matters pertaining to the welfare and administration of the country, so long the principle of simple elections cannot be satisfactorily worked in this country. The larger nation will dominate the smaller one completely, and the common ignorant people will hold the government responsible for adopting such measures as are bound to accentuate the differences of the several peoples more than ever.

APPENDIX II

Address

Presented to H.E. Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, by a Deputation of the Muslim Community of India on 1st October, 1906, at Simla

May it please your Excellency,

Availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we, the undersigned nobles, jagirdars, taluqdars, lawyers, zemindars, merchants and others representing a large body of the Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach your Excellency with the following address for your favourable consideration.

We fully realise and appreciate the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to diverse races and professing diverse religions who form the population of the vast continent of India, and have every reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom and liberty of worship that we now enjoy. Further, from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive and that India will in the future occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations.

One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has so far as possible been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion which forms such an important feature of all Indian progress.

Claims of the Community

Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognised political or commercial organisations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance, and finally by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, District Boards, and above all in the Legislative Chambers of the country. This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the Committee appointed by your Excellency with the view of giving it further extension, and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a fair share in such extended representation and some other matters of importance affecting the interests of our community, that we have ventured to approach your Excellency on the present occasion.

Past Traditions

The Mahomedans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty-two million or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian dominions, and if a reduction be made for the uncivilised portions of the community enumerated under the heads of animist and other minor religions, as well as for those classes who are ordinarily classified as Hindus but properly speaking are not Hindus at all, the proportion of Mahomedans to the Hindu majority becomes much larger. We, therefore, desire to submit that under any system of representation extended or limited a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first class European power except Russia may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State.

We venture, indeed, with your Excellency's permission to go a step further, and urge that the position accorded to the Mahomedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the empire, and we also hope that your Excellency will in this connection be pleased to give due consideration to the position which they occupied in India a little more than hundred years ago and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

The Mahomedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterised their rulers, and have in consequence abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing, but earnestly as we desire that the Mahomedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mahomedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.

We, therefore, pray that the representations we herewith venture to submit, after a

careful consideration of the views and wishes of a large number of our co-religionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with your Excellency's earnest attention.

European Representative Institutions

We hope your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to the Indian people; many of the most thoughtful members of our community in fact consider that the greatest care, forethought and caution will be necessary if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious and political conditions obtaining in India, and that in the absence of such care and caution their adoption is likely, among other evils, to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. Since, however, our rulers have, in pursuance of the immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the Government of the country, we Mahomedans cannot any longer in justice to our own national interests hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise. While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Mahomedans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of your Excellency and your illustrious predecessor in office and the heads of Local Governments by whom the Mahomedan members of Legislative Chambers have almost without exception been nominated, we cannot help observing that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements, and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things was probably under existing circumstances unavoidable, for while on the one hand the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and Local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection on the other hand of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy.

The Results of Election

As for the results of election, it is most unlikely that the name of any Mahomedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we in fairness find fault with the desire of our non-Muslim fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority on whose goodwill they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality.

A Distinct Community

Still, it cannot be denied that we Mahomedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto

suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented. Even in the provinces in which the Mahomedans constitute a distinct majority of the population, they have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might without unfairness be neglected. This has been the case, to some extent, in the Punjab, but in a more marked degree in Sind and in Eastern Bengal.

Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mahomedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due.

Employment in Government Service

We, therefore, pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that both in the gazetted and the subordinate and ministerial services of all Indian provinces a due proportion of Mahomedans shall always find place. Orders of like import have at times been issued by Local Governments in some provinces, but have not, unfortunately, in all cases been strictly observed on the ground that qualified Mahomedans were not forthcoming. This allegation, however well-founded it may have been at one time, is, we submit, no longer tenable now, and wherever the will to employ them is not wanting the supply of qualified Mahomedans, we are happy to be able to assure your Excellency, is equal to the demand.

The Competitive Element

Since, however, the number of qualified Mahomedans has increased, a tendency is unfortunately perceptible to reject them on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence. This introduces something like the competitive element in its worst form, and we may be permitted to draw your Excellency's attention to the political significance of the monopoly of all official influence by one class. We may also point out in this connection that the efforts of Mahomedan educationists have from the very outset of the educational movement among them been strenuously directed towards the development of character, and this we venture to think is of greater importance than mere mental alertness in the making of good public servants.

Mahomedans on the Bench

We venture to submit that the generality of Mahomedans in all parts of India feel aggrieved that Mahomedan Judges are not more frequently appointed to the High Courts and Chief Courts of Judicature. Since the creation of these Courts only three Mahomedan Lawyers have held these honourable appointments, all of whom have fully justified their elevation to the Bench. At the present moment there is not a single Mahomedan Judge

sitting on the Bench of any of these Courts,while there are three Hindu Judges in the Calcutta High Court, where the proportion of Mahomedans in the population is very large, and two in the Chief Court of the Punjab, where the Mahomedans form the majority of the population. It is not, therefore, an extravagant request on our part that a Mahomedan should be given a seat on the Bench of each of the High Courts and Chief Courts. Qualified Mahomedan lawyers eligible for these appointments can always be found, if not in one province then in another. We beg permission further to submit that the presence on the Bench of these Courts of a Judge learned in the Mahomedan Law will be a source of considerable strength to the administration of justice.

Municipal Representation

As Municipal and District Boards have to deal with important local interests affecting to a great extent the health, comfort, educational needs and even the religious concerns of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit for a moment your Excellency's attention to the position of Mahomedans thereon before passing to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people, yet the position of Mahomedans on these Boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality, for example, is divided into six wards and each ward returns one Hindu and one Mahomedan Commissioner, and the same principles we understand is adopted in a number of Municipalities in the Punjab and elsewhere, but in a good many places the Mahomedan tax-payers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the local authority should in every case be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mahomedans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives as is the practice in many towns in the Punjab.

Fellows of Universities

We would also suggest that the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities might be similarly dealt with, that is to say, there should, so far as possible, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mahomedans are entitled to be represented in either body.

Nomination to Provincial Councils

We now proceed to the consideration of the question of our representation in the Legislative Chambers of the country. Beginning with the Provincial Councils, we would most

respectfully suggest that as in the case of Municipalities and District Boards the proportion of Mahomedan representatives entitled to seats should be determined and declared with due regard to the important consideration which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this address, and that the important Mahomedan land-owners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests, the Mahomedan members of District Boards and Municipalities and the Mahomedan graduates of universities of a certain standing, say five years, should be formed into Electoral Colleges and be authorised, in accordance with such rules of procedure as your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible.

The Viceroy's Council

With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council whereon the due representation of Mahomedan interests is a matter of vital importance, we crave leave to suggest (1) that in the cadre of the Council the proportion of Mahomedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case the Mahomedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority; (2) that as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination; (3) that for the purposes of choosing Mahomedan members, Mahomedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by your Excellency's Government, Mahomedan members of the Provincial Councils and Mahomedan fellows of universities should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

The Executive Council

An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian Members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointment being made we beg that the claims of Mahomedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mahomedan, we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august chamber.

A Mahomedan University

We beg to approach your Excellency on a subject which must closely affect our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mahomedan University which will be the centre of our religious and intellectual life. We, therefore, most respectfully pray that your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

In conclusion, we beg to assure your Excellency that in assisting the Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty at this stage in the development of Indian affairs in the directions indicated in the present address, your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their

unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity, and your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come, and we feel confident that your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servants.

APPENDIX III

14 Points of Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah, December 31, 1928

Whereas the basic idea on which the All-Parties Conference was called in being and a Convention summoned at Calcutta during Christmas week 1928, was that a scheme of reforms should be formulated and accepted and ratified by the foremost political organisation in the country as a National Pact; and whereas the Report was adopted by the Indian National Congress only constitutionally for the one year ending 31st December 1929, and in the event of the British Parliament not accepting it within the time limit, the Congress stands committed to the policy and programme of complete independence by resort to civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes; and whereas the attitude taken up by the Hindu Mahasabha from the commencement through their representatives at the Convention was nothing short of an ultimatum that, if a single word in the Nehru Report in respect of the communal settlement was changed they would immediately withdraw their support to it; and whereas the National Liberal Federation delegates at the Convention took up an attitude of benevolent neutrality, and subsequently, in their open session at Allahabad, adopted a non-committal policy, the Non-Brahmin and depressed classes are entirely opposed to it; and whereas the reasonable and moderate proposals put forward by the delegates of the All-India Muslim League at the Convention in modification were not accepted, the Muslim League is unable to accept the Nehru Report.

The League after anxious and careful consideration, most earnestly and emphatically lays down that no scheme for the future constitution of the Government of India will be acceptable to Mussalmans of India until and unless the following basic principles are given effect to and provisions are embodied therein to safeguard their rights and interests:—

(1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.

(2) A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.

(3) All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.

(4) In the Central Legislature, Mussalman representation shall not be less than one-third.

(5) Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present: provided it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not, in any way, affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.-W.F. Province.

(7) Full religious liberty, *i.e.*, liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(8) No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

(9) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

(10) Reforms should be introduced in the N.-W.F. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

(11) Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with the other Indians, in all the services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(12) The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by the self-governing bodies.

(13) No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.

(14) No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

APPENDIX IV

Text of the Presidential Address, delivered by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Allahabad, in 1930

GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League at one of the most critical moments in the history of Muslim political thought and activity in India. I have no doubt that in this great assembly there are men whose political experience is far more extensive than mine, and for whose knowledge of affairs I have the highest respect. It will, therefore, be presumptuous on my part to claim to guide an assembly of such men in the political decisions which they are called upon to make to-day. I lead no party; I follow no leader. I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world-fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that, while assuming that the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam, I propose, not to guide you in your decisions, but to attempt the humbler task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions.

Islam and Nationalism

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity—by which expression I mean a social structure, regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal—has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually

unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims both in India and outside India. Our younger men, inspired by these ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe. In Europe, Christianity was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a vast Church-organisation. The protest of Luther was directed against this Church-organisation, not against any system of polity of a secular nature, for the obvious reason that there was no such polity associated with Christianity. And Luther was perfectly justified in rising in revolt against this organisation; though, I think, he did not realize that in the peculiar conditions which obtained in Europe his revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into a mutually ill-adjusted many, the transformation of a human into a national outlook, requiring a more realistic foundation, such as the notion of country, and finding expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines, *i.e.*, on lines which recognize territory as the only principle of political solidarity. If you begin with the conception of religion as complete other-worldliness, then what has happened to Christianity in Europe is perfectly natural. The universal ethics of Jesus is displaced by national systems of ethics and polity. The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual, and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life. Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane would to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time. Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Mannichaean thought. Her best thinkers are realizing initial this mistake to-day, but her statesmen are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought, and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European states. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted states dominated by interests, not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted states, after trampling over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity, are to-day feeling the need of a federated Europe, *i.e.*, the need of a unity which the Christian Church-organisation originally gave them, but which, instead of reconstructing in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy under the

inspiration of Luther. A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is an impossible phenomenon; for here there is no Church-organisation, similar to that of Christianity in the middle ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have been revealed, but whose structure, owing to our legists' want of contact with the modern world, stands to-day in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments. I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam. Whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has assimilated and transformed before many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a radical transformation of its own structure by the force of this idea, is hard to predict. Professor Wensinck of Leiden (Holland) wrote to me the other day: "It seems to me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up. It seems to me scarcely possible to state what the outcome will be for Christianity, still less what it will be for Islam." At the present moment the national idea is racialising the outlook of Muslims, and thus materially counteracting the humanising work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of standards different and even opposed to the standards of Islam. I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion. To address this session of the All-India Muslim League you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states, and finally who believes that *Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny!* Such a man cannot but look at matters from his own point of view. Do not think that the problem I am indicating is a purely theoretical one. It is a very living and practical problem calculated to affect the very fabric of Islam as a system of life and conduct. On a proper solution of it alone depends your future as a distinct cultural unit in India. Never in our history Islam has had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it to-day. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment. Nor should the way in which I am approaching this important problem lead anybody to think that I intend to quarrel with those who happen to think differently. You are a Muslim assembly and, I suppose, anxious to remain true to the spirit and ideals of Islam. My sole desire, therefore, is to tell you frankly what I honestly believe to be the truth about the present situation. In this way alone it is possible for me to illuminate, according to my light, the avenues of your political action.

The Question of Unity

What, then, is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political idea, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national polities in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where

the Muslims happen to be in minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led by a logical process of thought to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the Prophet's religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experient and necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man," says Renan, "is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically re-making men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teaching of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste-units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the East, and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India it will bring peace and mutual good-will to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps, we suspect each other's intentions, and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a

tribe. Perhaps we are unwilling to recognise that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship if need be. *Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour*; *and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness.* Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognise the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind they say: "To say from the larger view-point of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international view-point that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. *So also without the fullest cultural autonomy—and communalism in its better aspect is culture—it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation.*"

Muslim India within India

Communalism, in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it. *I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, and the formation of consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Mus-*

lims, at least of North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy state. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population the state contemplated by the proposal would be much less than some of the present Indian provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division and perhaps of some districts where non-Muslims predominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population—so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated state to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim minorities within its area. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of bayonets. The Punjab with fifty-six per cent Muslim population supplies fifty four per cent of the total combatant troops in the Indian army, and if the nineteen thousand Gurkhas recruited from the independent state of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to sixty-two per cent of the whole Indian Army. This percentage does not take into account nearly six thousand combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. From this you can easily calculate the possibilities of North-West Indian Muslims in regard to the defence of India against foreign aggression. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri thinks that the Muslim demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim states along the North-West border is actuated by a desire to acquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India. I may frankly tell him that the Muslim demand is not actuated by the kind of motive he imputes to us; it is actuated by a genuine desire for free development which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India.

Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim states will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such states. I have already indicated to you the meaning of the word religion, as applied to Islam. The truth is that Islam is not a church. It is state, conceived as a contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth, but as a spiritual being understood in terms of a social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism. The character of a Muslim state can be judged from what the *Times of India* pointed out some time ago in a leader on the Indian Banking Inquiry Committee. "In ancient India", the paper points out, "the state framed laws regulating the rates of interest; but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realization of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim states imposed no restrictions on such rates." I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated

Muslim state in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

Federal States

Thus it is clear that in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous states, based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interest, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. The conception of federation underlying the Simon Report necessitates the abolition of the Central Legislative Assembly as a popular assembly, and makes it an assembly of the representatives of federal states. It further demands a redistribution of territory on the lines which I have indicated. And the Report does recommend both. I gave my whole-hearted support to this view of the matter, and venture to suggest that the redistribution recommended in the Simon Report must fulfil two conditions. It must precede the introduction of the new constitution, and must be so devised as to finally solve the communal problem. Proper redistribution will make the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy. The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word nation to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances territorial electorates cannot secure adequate representation of all interests, and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

The Simon Report

But in so far as the question of the powers of the Central Federal State is concerned, there is subtle difference of motive in the constitutions proposed by the Pandits of India and the Pandits of England. The Pandits of India do not disturb the central authority as it stands at present. All that they desire is that this authority should become fully responsible to the Central Legislature which they maintain intact, and where their majority will become further reinforced, on the nominated element ceasing to exist. The Pandits of England,

on the other hand, realizing that democracy in the centre tends to work contrary to their interests, and is likely to absorb the whole power now in their hands, in case a further advance is made towards responsible government, have shifted the experiment of democracy from the centre to the provinces. No doubt, they introduce the principle of federation and appear to have made a beginning by making certain proposals, yet their evaluation of this principle is determined by considerations wholly different to those which determine its value in the eyes of Muslim India. The Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem, *i.e.*, the communal problem. The Royal Commissioner's view of federation, though sound in principle, does not seem to aim at responsible government for federal states. Indeed it does not go beyond providing means of escape from the situation which the introduction of democracy in India has created for the British, and wholly disregards the communal problem by leaving it where it was.

Thus it is clear that, in so far as real federation is concerned, the Simon Report virtually negatives the principle of federation in its true significance. The Nehru Report realizing Hindu majority in the Central Assembly reaches a unitary form of government because such an institution secures Hindu dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retains the present British dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation, partly because the British are naturally unwilling to part with the power they have so long wielded, and partly because it is possible for them, in the absence of an inter-communal understanding in India, to make out a plausible case for the retention of that power in their own hands. To my mind a unitary form of government is simply unthinkable in a self-governing India. What is called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing states, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of federal states. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them as a distinct political entity.

Hindu Machinations

The necessity for a structural change in the Central Government was seen probably long before the British discovered the most effective means for introducing this change. That is why at rather a late stage it was announced that the participation of the Indian Princes in the Round Table Conference was essential. It was a kind of surprise to the people of India, particularly the minorities, to see the Indian Princes dramatically expressing their willingness at the Round Table Conference to join an All-India Federation, and, as a result of their declaration, Hindu delegates—uncompromising advocates of a unitary form of government—quietly agreeing to the evolution of a federal scheme. Even Mr. Sastri, who, only a few days before, had severely criticised Sir John Simon for recommending a federal scheme for India, suddenly became a convert and admitted his conversion in the plenary session of the Conference—thus offering the Prime Minister of England an occasion for one of his wittiest observations in his concluding speech. All this has a meaning both for the British who have sought the participation of the Indian Princes, and the Hindus who have unhesitatingly accepted the

evolution of an All-India Federation. The truth is that the participation of the Indian Princes —among whom only a few are Muslims—in a federation scheme serves a double purpose. On the one hand, it serves as an all-important factor in maintaining the British power in India practically as it is, on the other hand, it gives overwhelming majority to the Hindus in an All-India Federal Assembly. It appears to me that the Hindu-Muslim differences regarding the ultimate form of the Central Government are being cleverly exploited by British politicians through the agency of the Princes who see in the scheme prospects of better security for their despotic rule. If the Muslims silently agree to any such scheme it will simply hasten their end as a political entity in India. The policy of the Indian Federation, thus created, will be practically controlled by Hindu Princes forming the largest group in the Central Federal Assembly. They will always lend their support to the Crown in matters of Imperial concern; and in so far as internal administration of the country is concerned they will help in maintaining and strengthening the supremacy of the Hindus. In other words, the scheme appears to be aiming at a kind of understanding between Hindu India and British Imperialism—you perpetuate me in India, and I in return give you a Hindu oligarchy to keep all other Indian communities in perpetual subjection. If, therefore, the British Indian provinces are not transformed into really autonomous states, the princes' participation in a scheme of Indian federation will be interpreted only as dexterous move on the part of British politicians to satisfy, without parting with any real power, all the parties concerned: Muslims with the *word* federation, Hindus with a majority in the centre, and British Imperialists—whether Tory or Lobourite—with the *substance* of real power.

The number of Hindu states in India is far greater than Muslim states; and it remains to be seen how the Muslim demand for 33 per cent seats in the Central Federal Assembly is to be met with in a House or Houses constituted of representatives taken from British India as well as Indian states. I hope the Muslim delegates are fully aware of the implications of the federal schemes as discussed in the Round Table Conference. The question of Muslim representation in the proposed All-India Federation has not yet been discussed. "The interim report", says Reuter's summary, "contemplates two chambers in the Federal Legislature—each containing representatives both of British India and States, the proportion of which will be a matter of subsequent consideration under the heads which have not yet been referred to the Sub-Committee." In my opinion the question of proportion is of the utmost importance, and ought to have been considered simultaneously with the main question of the structure of the Assembly.

The best course, I think, would have been to start with a British Indian Federation only. A federal scheme born of an unholy union between democracy and despotism cannot but keep British India in the same vicious circle of a unitary Central Government. Such a unitary form may be of the greatest advantage to the British, to the majority community in British India and to the Indian Princes; it can be of no advantage to the Muslims unless they get majority rights in five out of eleven Indian Provinces with full residuary powers, and one-third share of seats in the total house of the Federal Assembly. In so far as the attainment of sovereign powers by the British Indian Provinces is concerned, the position of H.H. the Ruler of Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Jinnah is unassailable. In view, however, of

the participation of the Princes in the Indian Federation, we must now see our demand for representation in the British Indian Assembly in a new light. The question is not one of Muslim share in a British Indian Assembly, but one which relates to representation of British Indian Muslims in an All-India Federal Assembly. Our demand for 33 per cent must now be taken as a demand for the same proportion in the All-India Federal Assembly exclusive of the share allotted to the Muslim states entering the Federation.

The Problem of Defence

The other difficult problem which confronts the successful working of a federal system in India is the problem of India's defence. In their discussion of this problem the Royal Commissioners have marshalled all the deficiencies of India in order to make out a case for Imperial administration of the army. "India and Britain," say the Commissioners, "are so related that India's defence cannot *now or in any future which is within sight*, be regarded as a matter of purely Indian concern. The control and direction of such an army must rest in the hands of agents of the Imperial Government. Now, does it necessarily follow from this that further progress towards the realization of responsible Government in British India is barred until the work of defence can be adequately discharged without the help of British officers and British troops? *As things are, there is a block on the line of constitutional advance.* All hopes of evolution in the Central Government towards the ultimate goal described in the declaration of 20th August, 1917, are in danger of being indefinitely frustrated if the attitude illustrated by the Nehru Report is maintained that any future change involves the putting of the administration of the army under the authority of an elected Indian Legislature." Further to fortify their argument they emphasize the fact of competing religions and rival races of widely different capacity, and try to make the problem look insoluble by remarking that "the obvious fact, that India is not, in the ordinary and natural sense, a single nation is nowhere made more plain than in considering the difference between the martial races of India and the rest." These features of the question have been emphasized in order to demonstrate that the British are not only keeping India secure from foreign menace but are also the "neutral guardians" of internal security. However, in federated India, as I understand federation, the problem will have only one aspect, *i.e.*, external defence. Apart from provincial armies necessary for maintaining internal peace, the Indian Federal Congress can maintain, on the North-West Frontier, a strong Indian Frontier Army, composed of units recruited from all provinces and officered by efficient and experienced military men taken from all communities. I know that India is not in possession of efficient military officers, and this fact is exploited by the Royal Commissioners in the interest of an argument for Imperial administration. On this point I cannot but quote another passage from the Report which, to my mind, furnishes the best argument against the position taken up by the Commissioners. "At the present moment," says the Report, "no Indian holding the King's Commission is of higher army rank than a captain. There are, we believe, 39 captains of whom 25 are in ordinary regimental employ. Some of them are of an age which would prevent their attaining much higher rank, even if they passed the necessary examination before retirement. Most

of these have not been through Sandhurst, but got their Commissions during the Great War. Now, however genuine may be the desire, and however earnest the endeavour to work for this transformation, the over-riding conditions so forcibly expressed by the Skeen Committee (whose members, apart from the Chairman and the Army Secretary, were Indian gentlemen) in the words, 'Progress...must be contingent upon success being secured at each stage and upon military efficiency being maintained throughout' must in any case render such development measured and slow. A higher command cannot be evolved at short notice out of existing cadres of Indian officers, all of junior rank and limited experience. Not until the slender trickle of suitable Indian recruits for the officer class—and we earnestly desire an increase in their numbers—flows in much greater volume, not until sufficient Indians have attained the experience and training requisite to provide all the officers for, at any rate, some Indian regiments, not until such units have stood the only test which can possibly determine their efficiency, and not until Indian officers have qualified by a successful army career for high command, will it be possible to develop the policy of Indianisation to a point which will bring a completely Indianised army within sight. Even then years must elapse before the process could be completed."

Now I venture to ask who is responsible for the present state of things? Is it due to some inherent incapacity of our martial races, or to the slowness of the process of military training? The military capacity of our martial races is undeniable. The process of military training may be slow as compared to other processes of human training. I am no military expert to judge this matter. But as a layman I feel that the argument, as stated, assumes the process to be practically endless. This means perpetual bondage for India, and makes it all the more necessary that the Frontier Army, as suggested by the Nehru Report, be entrusted to the charge of a committee of defence the personnel of which may be settled by mutual understanding.

Again it is significant that the Simon Report has given extraordinary importance to the question of India's land frontier, but has made only passing references to its naval position. India has doubtless had to face invasions from her land frontier; but it is obvious that her present masters took possession of her on account of her defenceless sea coast. A self-governing and free India will, in these days, have to take greater care of her sea coast than land frontiers.

I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established Muslim federal states will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India was a reality in the days of Mughul rule. Indeed in the time of Akbar the Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals. I am perfectly sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army, based on a federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of an invasion.

The Alternative

I have thus tried briefly to indicate the way in which the Muslims of India ought, in

my opinion, to look at the two most important constitutional problems of India. A redistribution of British India, calculated to secure a permanent solution of the communal problem, is the main demand of the Muslims of India. If, however, the Muslim demand of a territorial solution of the communal problem is ignored, then I support, as emphatically as possible, the Muslim demands repeatedly urged by the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference. The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates, in the Punjab and Bengal, or fail to guarantee them 33 per cent representation in any Central Legislature. There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact which originated in a false view of Indian nationalism, and deprived the Muslims of India of chances of acquiring any political power in India. The second is the narrow-visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interests of what may be called Punjab Ruralism resulting in a proposal which virtually reduces the Punjab Muslims to a position of minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal.

The Simon Report does great injustice to the Muslims in not recommending a statutory majority for the Punjab and Bengal. It would either make the Muslims stick to the Lucknow Pact or agree to a scheme of joint electorates. The Despatch of the Government of India on the Simon Report admits that since the publication of that document the Muslim community has not expressed its willingness to accept any of the alternatives proposed by the Report. The Despatch recognizes that it may be a legitimate grievance to deprive the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal of representation in the councils in proportion to their population merely because of weightage allowed to Muslim minorities elsewhere. But the Despatch of the Government of India fails to correct the injustice of the Simon Report. In so far as the Punjab is concerned—and this is the most crucial point—it endorses the so-called 'carefully balanced scheme' worked out by the official members of the Punjab Government which gives the Punjab Muslims a majority of two over Hindus and Sikhs combined, and a proportion of 49 per cent of the House as a whole. It is obvious that the Punjab Muslims cannot be satisfied with less than a clear majority in the total House. However, Lord Irwin and his Government do recognize that the justification for communal electorates for majority communities would not cease unless and until by the extension of franchise their voting strength more correctly reflects their population; and, further, unless a two-third majority of the Muslim members in a provincial council unanimously agree to surrender the right of separate representation. I cannot, however, understand why the Government of India, having recognized the legitimacy of the Muslim grievance, have not had the courage to recommend a statutory majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

Nor can the Muslims of India agree to any such changes which fail to create at least Sind as a separate province, and treat the North-West Frontier Province as a province of inferior political status. I see no reason why Sind should not be united with Baluchistan and turned into a separate province. It has nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. In point of life and civilization the Royal Commissioners find it more akin to Mesopotamia and Arabia than India. The Muslim geographer Mas'udi noticed this kinship long ago when he said—"Sind is a country *nearer* to the dominions of Islam." The first Omayyad ruler is

reported to have said of Egypt—"Egypt has her back towards Africa and face towards Arabia." With necessary alterations the same remark describes the exact situation of Sind. She has her back towards India and face towards Central Asia. Considering further the nature of her agricultural problems which can invoke no sympathy from the Bombay Government, and her infinite commercial possibilities, dependent on the inevitable growth of Karachi into a second metropolis of India, it is unwise to keep her attached to a Presidency which, though friendly to-day, is likely to become a rival at no distant period. Financial difficulties, we are told, stand in the way of separation. I do not know of any definite authoritative pronouncement on the matter. But assuming there are any such difficulties, I see no reason why the Government of India should not give temporary financial help to a promising province in her struggle for independent progress.

As to the North-West Frontier Province it is painful to note that the Royal Commissioners have practically denied that the people of this province have any right to reform. They fall far short of the Bray Committee, and the council recommended by them is merely a screen to hide the autocracy of the Chief Commissioner. The inherent right of the Afghan to light a cigarette is curtailed merely because he happens to be living in a powder house. The Royal Commissioners' epigrammatic agrument is pleasant enough, but far from convincing. Political reform is light, not fire; and to light every human being is entitled whether he happens to live in a powder house or a coal mine. Brave, shrewd and determined to suffer for his legitimate aspirations, the Afghan is sure to present any attempt to deprive him of opportunities of full self-development. To keep such a people contented is in the best interest of both England and India. What has recently happened in that unfortunate province is the result of a step-motherly treatment shown to the people since the introduction of the principle of self-government in the rest of India. I only hope that British statesmanship will not obscure its view of the situation by hoodwinking itself into the belief that the present unrest in the province is due to any extraneous causes.

The recommendation for the introduction of a measure of reform in the N.-W.F.P. made in the Government of India's despatch is also unsatisfactory. No doubt the despatch goes farther than the Simon Report in recommending a sort of representative Council and a semi-representative cabinet, but it fails to treat this important Muslim province on equal footing with other Indian provinces. Indeed the Afghan is, by instinct, more fitted for democratic institutions than any other people in India.

Round Table onference

I think I am now called upon to make a few observations on the Round Table Conference. Personally, I do not feel optimistic as to the results of this Conference. It was hoped that away from the actual scene of communal strife, and in a changed atmosphere better counsels would prevail, and a genuine settlement of the differences between the two major communities of India would bring India's freedom within sight. Actual events, however, tell a different tale. Indeed the discussion of the communal question in London has demonstrated more clearly than ever the essential disparity between the two great cultural

units of India. Yet the Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India is international and not national. He is reported to have said that "his Government would find it difficult to submit to Parliament proposals for the maintenance of separate electorates, since joint electorates were much more in accordance with British democratic sentiments." Obviously he does not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations; and that a system of separate electorates is only a poor substitute for a territorial solution of the problem. Nor is the Minorities Sub-Committee likely to reach a satisfactory settlement. The whole question will have to go before the British Parliament; and we can only hope that the keen-sighted representatives of the British nation, unlike most of our Indian politicians, will be able to pierce through the surface of things and see clearly the true fundamentals of peace and security in a country like India. To base a constitution on the concept of a homogeneous India, or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war. As far as I can see, there will be no peace in the country until the various peoples that constitute India are given opportunities of free self-development on modern lines without abruptly breaking with their past.

I am glad to be able to say that our Muslim delegates fully realize the importance of a proper solution on what I call Indian international problem. They are perfectly justified in pressing for a solution of the communal question before the question of responsibility in the Central Government is finally settled. No Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propaganda word—communalism—expressly devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls British democratic sentiments, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are seventy million and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure. Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious argument that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, *i.e.*, territorial lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the 'people of the Book'. There are no social barriers between Muslims and the 'people of the Book'. A Jew or a Christian or a Zorastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the Law of Islam allows intermarriage with the 'people of the Book'. Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Quran declares, "O people of the Book! Come let us join together on the 'word' (Unity of God) that is common to us all." The wars of Islam and Christianity, and, later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow

the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. To-day it is being gradually realized in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the sole test of the success of our delegates is the extent to which they are able to get the non-Muslim delegates of the Conference to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for an independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India. If you are at all serious about your ideals and aspirations you must be ready for such an action. Our leading men have done a good deal of political thinking, and their thought has certainly made us, more or less, sensitive to the forces which are now shaping the destinies of peoples in India and outside India. But I ask, has this thinking prepared us for the kind of action demanded by the situation which may arise in the near future? Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irwin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders. By leaders I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order. The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herd-instinct. This makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community. We are doing to-day in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickerings in religion do not do much harm to our solidarity. They at least indicate an interest in what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover, this principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam. But diversity in political action, at a moment when concerted action is needed in the best interests of the very life of our people, may prove fatal. How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on the subject; but I think it is proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise leading Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to determine the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement. In this address I mention this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind, and give some serious thought to it in the meantime.

The Conclusion

Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion I cannot but impress upon you that the present crisis in the history of India demands complete organisation and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your own interest as a community, and in the

interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been and is a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of self-expression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia. And since seventy million of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the Indian problem not only from the Muslim point of view but also from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim as such. Our duty towards Asia and India cannot be loyally performed without an organised will fixed on a definite purpose. In your own interest, as a political entity among other political entities of India, such an equipment is an absolute necessity. Our disorganised condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit. Matter is diversity; spirit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not *vice versa*. If to-day you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you who, as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponents of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not wish to mystify anybody when I say that things in India are not what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran: "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided" (5:104).

APPENDIX V

Letters of Allama Iqbal to the Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah

These letters were written by Dr. MuhammadIqbal during the last years of his life in 1936-37, and were later published posthumously in the form of a book which carried an introduction by the Quaid-i-Azam himself. The text of the correspondence, along with the Introduction by the Quaid-i-Azam, is reproduced below.

Introduction

The letters which form the subject of this book were written to me by the sage, philosopher and national poet of Islam, the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, during the period May 1936 to November 1937, a few months before his death. This period synchronises with a very eventful period in the history of Muslim India—between the establishment of the All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board, in June 1936 and the great historic session at Lucknow, in October 1937.

If the Central Parliamentary Board with its Provincial Branches marked the first great attempt on the part of the Muslim League to rally round the Muslim opinion to contest the approaching elections, under the Government of India Act of 1935, for Provincial Legislature on the League ticket, the Lucknow Session indicated the first stage in the reorganisation of the Muslim League on a popular basis and as the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. Both these high objects were attained in great part owing to the invaluable support that I obtained through the sincere efforts and patriotic and selfless activities of many friends like Sir Muhammad Iqbal, amongst others. The League gained

from strength to strength in this short period. In each of the Provinces where League Parliamentary Board was established and the League parties were constituted we carried away about 60 to 70 per cent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates. Hundreds of District and Primary Leagues were established in almost every Province from the farthest corner of Madras to the North-West Frontier Province.

The League gave a staggering blow to the so-called Muslim Mass Contact Movement which was started by the Congress to disrupt Muslim ranks and to overawe League into submission. The League emerged triumphant in most of the by-elections and shattered the intrigues and machinations of those who hoped to create the impression that the Muslim League Organisation had no support of the Muslim people.

Within eighteen months before the Lucknow Session, the League had succeeded in organising Muslims as one party with an advanced and progressive programme and had brought under its influence even those Provinces which for lack of time or preparation had not been sufficiently benefited by the activities of League Parliamentary Boards. The Lucknow Session furnished an unmistakable evidence of the popularity that League commanded among Muslims of all groups and ranks.

It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority Provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation. He had his own doubts about Sikandar-Jinnah Pact being carried out and he was anxious to see it translated into some tangible results without delay so as to dispel popular misapprehension about it, but unfortunately he has not lived to see that the Punjab has all-round made a remarkable progress and now it is beyond doubt that the Muslims stand solidly behind the Muslim League Organisation.

With this brief historical background in mind, the letters can be read with great interest. It is, however, much to be regretted that my own replies to Iqbal are not available. During the period under reference I worked alone unassisted by the benefit of a personal staff and so did not retain duplicate copies of the numerous letters that I had to dispose of. I made enquiries from the Trustees of Iqbal's estate at Lahore and was informed that my letters are not traceable. Hence I had no alternative but to publish the letters without my replies as I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumberated in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the "Pakistan Resolution", passed on 23rd March, 1940.

M. A. Jinnah

Text of Correspondence

Lahore,
23rd May, 1936.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which I received a moment ago. I am glad to see that your work is progressing. I do hope that the Punjab parties—specially the Ahrar and the Ittihad Millat—will eventually, after some bickering, join you. A very enthusiastic and active member of the Ittihad told me so a few days ago. About M. Zafar Ali Khan the Ittihad people do not themselves feel sure. However, there is plenty of time yet, and we shall soon see how the electorate generally feels about the Ittihad sending their men to the Assembly.

Hoping you are well, and looking forward to meeting you.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore,
9th June, 1936.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you my draft. Also a cutting from the *Eastern Times* of yesterday. This is a letter from an intelligent pleader of Gurdaspur.

I hope the statement issued by the Board will fully argue the whole scheme and will meet all the objections so far advanced against it. It must frankly state the present position of the Indian Muslims as regards both the Government and the Hindus. It must warn the Muslims of India that unless the present scheme is adopted the Muslims will lose all that they have gained during the last 15 years and will seriously harm, and in fact, shatter their own solidarity with their own hands.

Yours etc.
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S.—Will feel much obliged if you send the statement to me before it is sent to the press.

Another point which should be brought out in the statement is as follows:

1. Indirect election to the Central Assembly has made it absolutely essential that Muslim representatives returned to the Provincial Assemblies should be bound by an All-India Muslim policy and programme so that they should return to the Central Assembly only those Muslims who would be pledged to support the specific Muslim questions connected with the Central subjects and arising out of their position as the second great nation of India. Those who are now for Provincial policies and programmes were themselves instrumental in getting indirect elections for the Central Assembly introduced into the constitution, obviously because this suited a foreign Government. Now when the community wants to make the best use of this misfortune (*i.e.* indirect elections) by proposing an all-India scheme of elections (*e.g.* League scheme) to be adhered to by the Provincial candidates, the same men, again at the instance of a foreign Government, have come out to defeat the community in their effort to retain its solidarity as a nation.

2. Question of Wakf Law arising out of Shahidganj, culture, language, mosques and personal law.

Lahore,
25th June, 1936.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Sikandar Hayat left Lahore a day or two ago. I think he will meet you at Bombay and have a talk with you about certain matters of importance. Daultana saw me yesterday evening. He tells me that the Muslim members of the Unionist Party are prepared to make the following declaration:

"That in all matters specific to the Muslim community as an all-India minority they will be bound by the decision of the League and will never make any pact with any non-Muslim group in the Provincial Assembly."

Provided the League (Provincial) makes the following declaration:

"That those returned to the Provincial Assembly on the League ticket will co-operate with that party or group which has the largest number of Muslims."

Please let me know at your earliest convenience what you think of this proposal. Also let me know the result of your talk with Sir Sikandar Hayat. If you succeed in convincing him he may come to our side.

Hoping you are well....

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

Mayo Road, Lahore,
23rd August, 1936.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope my letter reached you all right. There is some talk of an understanding between the Punjab Parliamentary Board and the Unionist Party. I should like you to let me know what you think of such a compromise and to suggest conditions for the same. I read in the papers that you have brought about a compromise between the Bengal Proja Party and the Parliamentary Board. I should like to know the terms and the conditions. Since the Proja Party is non-communal like the Unionist, your compromise in Bengal may be helpful to you.

Hoping you are well...

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore,
20th March, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I suppose you have read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's address to the All-India National Convention and that you fully realise the policy underlying it in so far as Indian Muslims are concerned. I believe you are also aware that the new constitution has at least brought a unique opportunity to Indian Muslims for self-organisation in view of the future political developments both in India and Muslim Asia. While we are ready to co-operate with other progressive parties in the country, we must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Israel as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslims. I, therefore, suggest that an effective reply should be given to the All-India National Convention. You should immediately hold an All-India Muslim Convention in Delhi to which you should invite members of the new Provincial Assemblies as well as other prominent Muslim leaders. To this convention you must re-state as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem. If you could hold this Convention, it would test the credentials of those Muslim Legislators who have formed parties contrary to the aims and aspiration of Indian Muslims. It would further make it clear to the Hindus that no political device, however subtle, can make the Indian Muslim lose sight of his cultural entity. I am coming to Delhi in a few days' time and hope to have a talk with you on this important matter. I shall be staying in the Afghan Consulate. If you could spare a few moments, we should meet there. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S.—Please excuse me. I have got this letter written by a friend as my eye-sight is getting bad.

Lahore,
22nd April, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not know whether my letter which I posted to you about two weeks ago ever reached you. I posted it to your address at New Delhi, and when I went to Delhi later, I discovered that you had already left Delhi. In that letter I proposed that we should hold immediately an All-India Muslim Convention, say at Delhi, and once more re-state the policy of Indian Muslims both to the Government and to the Hindus.

As the situation is becoming grave and the Muslim feeling in the Punjab is rapidly becoming pro-Congress for reasons which it is unnecessary to detail, I would request you to consider and decide the matter as early as possible. The session of the All-India Muslim League is postponed till August, and the situation demands an early re-statement of the Muslim policy. If the Convention is preceded by a tour of prominent Muslim leaders, the meeting of the Convention is sure to be a great success. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore,
28th May, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which reached me in due course. I am glad to hear that you will bear in mind what I wrote to you about the changes in the constitution and programme of the League. I have no doubt that you fully realise the gravity of the situation as far as Muslim India is concerned. The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a political organisation which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslims cannot attract our masses.

Under the new constitution the higher posts go to the sons of upper classes; the smaller ones go to the friends or relatives of the ministers. In other matters too our political institutions have never thought of improving the lot of Muslims generally. The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The perception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come. The atheistic solcialism of Jawaharlal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question, therefore, is: how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promises, I am sure, the Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. Happily

there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country, *e.g.*, N.-W. India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawaharlal's socialism into the body-politic of Hinduism is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Buddhism in India, I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems, therefore, are far more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above, in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems, it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived? Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Anyhow, I have given you my own thoughts in the hope that you will give them serious consideration either in your address or in the discussions of the coming session of the League. Muslim India hopes that at this serious juncture your genius will discover some way out of present difficulties.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S.—On the subject-matter of this letter I intended to write to you a long and open letter in the Press. But on further consideration I felt that the present moment was not suitable for such a step.

Lahore,
21st June, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah

Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. I know you are a busy man, but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India. I tell you that we are actually living in a state of civil war which, but for the police and military,

would become universal in no time. During the last few months there has been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. In North-West India alone there have been at least three riots during the last three months and at least four cases of vilification of the Prophet by Hindus and Sikhs. In each of these four cases, the vilifier has been murdered. There have also been cases of burning of the Koran in Sind. I have carefully studied the whole situation and believe that the real cause of these events is neither religious nor economic. It is purely political, *i.e.*, the desire of the Sikhs and Hindus to intimidate Muslims even in the Muslim majority provinces. And the new constitution is such that even in the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on non-Muslims. The result is that the Muslim Ministry can take no proper action and are even driven to do injustice to Muslims partly to please those on whom they depend, and partly to show that they are absolutely impartial. Thus it is clear that we have our specific reasons to reject this constitution. It seems to me that the new constitution is devised only to placate the Hindus. In the Hindu majority provinces, the Hindus have of course absolute majorities, and can ignore Muslims altogether. In Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on Hindus. I have no doubt in my mind that this constitution is calculated to do infinite harm to the Indian Muslims. Apart from this it is no solution of the economic problem which is so acute among Muslims.

The only thing that the communal award grants to Muslims is the recognition of their political existence in India. But such a recognition granted to a people whom this constitution does not and cannot help in solving their problem of poverty can be of no value to them. The Congress President has denied the political existence of Muslims in no unmistakable terms. The other Hindu political body, *i.e.*, the Mahasabha, whom I regard as the real representative of the masses of the Hindus, has declared more than once that a united Hindu-Muslim nation is impossible in India. In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities. Many British statesmen also realise this, and the Hindu-Muslim riots which are rapidly coming in the wake of this constitution are sure further to open their eyes to the real situation in the country. I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that it would take 25 years to come. Some Muslims in the Punjab are already suggesting the holding of a North-West Indian Muslim Conference, and the idea is rapidly spreading. I agree with you, however, that our community is not yet sufficiently organised and disciplined and perhaps the time for holding such a conference is not yet ripe. But I feel that it would be highly advisable for you to indicate in your address at least the line of action that the Muslims of North-West India would be finally driven to take.

To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?

Personally I think that the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal ought at present to ignore Muslim minority provinces. This is the best course to adopt in the interests of both Muslim majority and minority provinces. It will, therefore, be better to hold the coming session of the League in the Punjab, and not in a Muslim minority province. The month of August is bad in Lahore. I think you should seriously consider the advisability of holding the coming session at Lahore in the middle of October when the weather is quite good in Lahore. The interest in the All-India Muslim League is rapidly growing in the Punjab, and the holding of the coming session in Lahore is likely to give a fresh political awakening to the Punjab Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore,
11th August, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Events have made it abundantly clear that the League ought to concentrate all its activities on the North-West Indian Mussalmans. The League office of Delhi informed Mr. Ghulam Rasool that the dates of the sessions of the Muslim League have not been fixed as yet.

This being so, I fear it will not be possible to hold the sessions in August and September. I, therefore, repeat my request that the League sessions may be held in Lahore in the middle or end of October. The enthusiasm for the League is rapidly increasing in the Punjab, and I have no doubt that the holding of the session in Lahore will be a turning point in the history of the League and an important step towards mass contact. Please drop a line in reply.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore,
7th October, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A strong contingent from the Punjab is expected to attend the Lucknow Session of the League. The Unionist Muslims are also making preparations to attend under the leadership of Sir Sikandar Hayat. We are living in difficult times and the Indian Muslims expect that your address will give them the clearest possible lead in all matters relating to the future of the community. I suggest that the League may state or re-state its policy relating to the communal award in the shape of a suitable resolution. In the Punjab, and I hear also in Sind, attempts are being made by misguided Muslims themselves to alter it in the interest of the Hindus. Such men fondly believe that by pleasing the Hindus they will be able to retain their power. I personally believe that since the British Government wants to honour

the Hindus who would welcome the upsetter of the communal award they (the British Government) are trying to get it upset through their Muslim agents.

I shall prepare a list of 28 persons for the vacancies in the League Council. Mr. Ghulam Rasool will show you this list. I do hope that this choice will be carefully made. Our men will leave Lahore on the 13th.

The Palestine question is very much agitating the minds of the Muslims. We have a very fine opportunity for mass contact for the purposes of the League. I have no doubt that the League will pass a strong resolution on this question and also by holding a private conference of the leaders decide on some sort of a positive action in which masses may share in large numbers. This will at once popularise the League and may help the Palestine Arabs. Personally I would not mind going to jail on an issue which affects both Islam and India. The formation of a Western base on the very gates of the East is a menace to both.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S.—The League should resolve that no province should come to any understanding with other communities regarding the communal award. This is an All-India question and must be settled by the League alone. Perhaps you may go further and say that the present atmosphere is not at all suitable for any communal understanding.

Lahore,
30th October, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah.

I suppose you have already read the resolution passed by the A.-I.C.C. Your move in time has saved the situation, and we are all waiting for your observations on the Congress resolution. The *Tribune* of Lahore has already criticised it and I believe Hindu opinion will generally be opposed to it. However, it should not act as an opiate as far as Muslims are concerned. We must carry the work of organisation more vigorously than ever and should not rest till Muslim Governments are established in the five provinces and reforms are granted to Baluchistan.

The rumour is that part of the Unionist Party does not mean to sign the League creed. So far Sir Sikandar and his party have not signed it and I heard this morning that they would wait till the next sessions of the League. The idea, as one of themselves told me, is to slacken the activities of the Province League. However, I shall place you in possession of all the fact in a few days time and then ask your opinion as to how we should proceed. I do hope that before the Lahore Session you would be able to tour in the Punjab for at least two weeks.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore,
1st November, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan with some of the members of his party saw me yesterday and we had a long talk about the differences between the League and the Unionist Party. Statements have been issued to the press by both sides, each side putting its own interpretation on the terms of Jinnah-Sikandar agreement. This has caused much misunderstanding. As I wrote to you before, I will put you in possession of all those statements in a few days' time. For the present I request you to kindly send me as early as possible a copy of the agreement which was signed by Sir Sikandar and which I am told is in your possession. I further want to ask you whether you agreed to the Provincial Parliamentary Board being controlled by the Unionist Party. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to this and, therefore, he claims that the Unionist Party must have their majority in the Board. This, as far as I know, does not appear in the Jinnah-Sikandar agreement.

Please reply to this letter as early as possible. Our men are touring in the country and forming Leagues in various places. Last night we had a very successful meeting in Lahore. Others will follow.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore,
10th November, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After having several talks with Sir Sikandar and his friends I am now definitely of the opinion that Sir Sikandar wants nothing less than the complete control of the League and the Provincial Parliamentary Board. In your pact with him it is mentioned that the Parliamentary Board will be reconstituted and that the Unionists will have majority in the Board. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to their majority in the Board. I wrote to you some time ago to enquire whether you did agree to the Unionist majority in the Board. So far I have not heard from you. I personally see no harm in giving him the majority that he wants but he goes beyond the pact when he wants a complete change in the office-holders of the League, especially the Secretary who has done so much for the League. He also wishes that the finances of the League should be controlled by his men. All this to my mind amounts to capturing of the League and then killing it. Knowing the opinion of the province as I do I cannot take the responsibility of handing over the League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact has already damaged the prestige of the League in this province; and the tactics of the Unionists may damage it still further. They have not so far signed the creed of the League and I understand do not mean to . The session of the League in Lahore they want in April instead of February. My impression is that they want to gain time for their own Zamindara League to function in the province. Perhaps you know that on his return from

Lucknow Sir Sikandar constituted a Zamindara League whose branches are now being made in the province. In these circumstances please let me know what we should do. Kindly wire your view if possible. If this is not possible, write a detailed letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

APPENDIX VI

The Pakistan Resolution, March 23, 1940

(1) While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

(2) It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935 is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

(3) Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their

religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

APPENDIX VII

MOUNTBATTEN AWARD

Text of His Majesty's Government's Plan, dated June 3, 1947

1. On February 20, 1947, His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty's Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working-out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind, as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved upon His Majesty's Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty's Government have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India.

An Issue to be Decided

4. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed:

(*a*) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or

(*b*) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

Bengal and the Punjab

5. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will, therefore, each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two provinces are set out in the Appendix to this announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided, on the issue of partition the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding upon, each part of the Legislative members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts.

This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a final partition of these provinces a detailed investigation of boundary question will be needed, and as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.

Sind

10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in paragraph 4 above.

North-West Frontier Province

11. The position of the North-West Frontier Province is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the North-West Frontier Province an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in paragraph 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

British Baluchistan

12. British Baluchistan has elected a member, but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

Assam

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will

be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam province or should be amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal, if that province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms or reference similar to those for Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of the Assam province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

Representation in Constituent Assemblies

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946. Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of it being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:—

Province		General	Muslims	Sikhs	Total
Sylhet District	..	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	..	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	..	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	..	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	..	6	4	2	12

15. In accordance with the mandate given to them, the representatives of various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

Administrative Matters

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

(a) between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications;

(b) between different successor authorities and His Majesty's Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power; and,

(c) in the case of provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc.

Tribes of the North-West

17. Agreements with tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

The States

18. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of May 12, 1946, remains unchanged.

Necessity for Speed

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different provinces or parts of provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan. The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories: they will of course be free to frame their own rules.

Immediate Transfer of Power

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasized their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948 for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assembly to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

Further Announcements by Governor-General

21. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

APPENDIX

The Muslim majority districts of the Punjab and Bengal according to 1941 census:

1. **The Punjab:**

Lahore Division	Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Sialkot.
Rawalpindi Division	Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.
Multan Division	Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. **Bengal:**

Chittagong Division	Chittagong, Noakhali, Tipperah.
Dacca Division	Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.
Presidency Division	Jessore, Murshidabad, Nadia.
Rajshahi Division	Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rangpur.

APPENDIX VIII

PREAMBLE

To

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

WHEREAS sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

WHEREAS the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah, declared that Pakistan would be a democratic State based on Islamic principles of social justice;

AND WHEREAS the Constituent Assembly, representing the people of Pakistan, have resolved to frame for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan a constitution;

WHEREIN the State should exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

WHEREIN the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam, should be fully observed;

WHEREIN the Muslims of Pakistan should be enabled individually and collectively to order their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah;

WHEREIN adequate provision should be made for the minorities freely to profess, practise their religion and develop their culture;

WHEREIN the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan should form a Federa-

tion, wherein the Provinces would be autonomous with such limitations on their powers and authority as might be prescribed;

WHEREIN should be guaranteed fundamental rights, including rights such as equality of status and of opportunity, equality before law, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, and social, economic, and political justice, subject to law and public morality;

WHEREIN adequate provision should be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

WHEREIN the independence of the Judiciary should be fully secured;

WHEREIN the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights, including its sovereign rights over land, sea and air should be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the world and make their full contribution towards international peace and the progress and happiness of humanity.

NOW THEREFORE, we the people of Pakistan in our Constituent Assembly this twenty-ninth day of February, 1956, and the seventeenth day of Rajab, 1375, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

Ferozsons, Karachi